THE LIFE OF CHARLES GRANT

BY HENRY MORRIS

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
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Art Repro C°

Charles Grant

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CHARLES GRANT

SOMETIME MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR INVERNESS-SHIRE AND DIRECTOR OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

BY HENRY MORRIS

MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED)

AUTHOR OF "BRIEF LIVES OF THE GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA," ETC.

WITH PORTRAITS

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INTRODUCTION

Little need be said by way of introduction to the Life of Charles Grant. It seems surprising that no complete Biography of the greatest Director of the East India Company has yet been published, though the time during which he occupied a seat on the Direction extended over the most important epoch in the making of British India, and during the whole of that memorable period he exercised a strong and effectual influence over the counsels of the home Government of that day.

My most cordial thanks are due to the family for the kind manner in which they have placed at my disposal the voluminous correspondence connected with his life. My chief difficulty has been in the abundance of material, which has necessitated very careful and laborious condensation. Miss Grant, of Hitcham Hall, the granddaughter of Charles Grant, has been most helpful in giving me all the information that she was able to impart. I am likewise much obliged to Sir Robert Grant, G.C.B., his grandson, for kind assistance.

There are some outside the family to whom I must also tender my hearty thanks. Foremost among them is Dr George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D., for his great courtesy and generous help; and my thanks are also

given to my friend Robert Blair Swinton, of my own Service, for his researches during my unavoidable absence from England during the winter; to the Rev. Charles Hole for kindly examining the proofs; to my son John Edward for having written the fourteenth chapter, which required much diligent search among the numerous documents; and to W. Foster of the Record Department, India Office, for giving me free access to the East India Company's records.

I hope that Charles Grant's life may be a help to many in the Service which he once adorned, for it proves that diligence and care, combined with integrity and uprightness, are, by the grace of God, able to make each individual member of the Service a credit to his profession, a strength to the Government, and an honour to his country.

H. M.

20*th October* 1903.

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THE LIFE OF CHARLES GRANT

CHAPTER I

YOUTH

A.D. 1746 TO 1767

Brief account of Charles Grant's ancestry—His birth—Scene at his christening—His father wounded at Culloden—Outlawry and ruin—Leaving Scotland—Death of the mother—The good uncle—Charles goes to school at Elgin—Apprenticed to William Forsyth at Cromarty—Early letter from Uncle John—First letter from Charles—Forsyth's character of him—Departure from Cromarty to London—Clerk in his cousin's firm—Departure of Alexander Grant for Calcutta—Correspondence with Sandy Allan—Acquaintance with Mr Becher—Letter to his uncle—Passage taken in the *Admiral Watson* for Calcutta—Mr Sumner and Mr Scrafton—Robert appointed a midshipman in the same ship—The *Admiral Watson* sails from Plymouth.

CHARLES GRANT was descended from a branch of the Clan Grant which had long been settled in Glen Urquhart, a picturesque and sequestered valley on the northern shore of Loch Ness. This branch of the Grants trace their lineage to John Oig, second son of the Laird of Grant, who in 1509 obtained a charter from King James IV. of certain lands in Glen Urquhart called "The Braes." The families of Shewglie and Corrimony, the principal dignitaries of this little glen, sprang from him. Charles Grant was descended from the Shewglie line. Robert Grant of Shewglie, great-

grandson of John Oig, had three sons—Robert, James, and Patrick. Patrick married a daughter of Hugh Fraser of Erchless. He and his eldest son, Robert, were engaged in the rising of 1715, and were present at the battle of Sheriffmuir. Robert afterwards owned a farm at Polmaily in Glen Urquhart. Alexander, the third son of Robert, father of the subject of this Memoir, was a distinguished character in his native glen. He was known by the name of Alister-an-claigh, or Alexander with the Sword, from his great skill in all manly and martial exercises. He was a tall and handsome man, and remarkable for his great strength. While still very young, he entered the Highland regiment called "The Black Watch," a national corps composed of Highland gentlemen, apparently a kind of native militia, for the regiment now known by this name was not raised till after the Rebellion. He remained in this corps for ten or eleven years, and then left, at his father's desire, to assist him in the business of his farm. Alexander had no inclination for farming, however, for he was a thorough soldier. In 1742 he married Margaret Macbean, daughter of Donald Macbean, of Kinchyle.

Charles Grant was born in March 1746. His birthplace was at Aldourie farmhouse, which was beautifully situated on a wooded slope stretching down to the south-eastern shore of Loch Ness. His mother had gone to stay there with her parents during the troubles of the time. He was the third child, two daughters having died in infancy. His father was then in the camp of Prince Charles Edward. A short time before the battle of Culloden, Alexander Grant, being in the neighbourhood of Aldourie, went thither for the christening of his little son, accompanied by thirty of his comrades. A weird scene took place on this occasion. They named the child Charles after the Prince; and, drawing their swords, they crossed and clashed them over his cradle,

thereby enlisting him in the service of Charles Edward Stuart; then, in token of fealty to his supposed sovereign, each enthusiastic warrior took the child's hand, and made it clasp the hilt of his sword with its baby fingers. A few weeks afterwards Alexander Grant was severely wounded at Culloden. He remained in concealment for a time, hiding in caves and woods, and when in the following year he was permitted to return to his home, he found his property destroyed, and, notwithstanding all his efforts, he could not retrieve his affairs. He struggled on, in these adverse circumstances, and then joined a Highland regiment which the Government was raising for service in America. He died at Havana in 1762 of a fever contracted during the siege of that town.

Alexander Grant's departure from Scotland left his wife in charge of five children with very scanty means. The names of the younger children were Margaret, Robert, Catherine, and John. She was a lady possessed of great decision of character and common sense, as well as sweetness of temper and piety. She died in November 1758, about two years after her husband had left the country. The same faith and hope, however, which had supported her during a troublous life, soothed her last hours, and she expressed the firm assurance that the Lord, who had been her strength in life, would provide for her children's welfare both here and hereafter. Their paternal relatives were exceedingly kind. Shewglie and Lochletter, the heads of the family, were most helpful; but the one who did most for them, and particularly for Charles and his elder sister Margaret or May, was their father's youngest brother, John. He was himself badly off, having an appointment in the Excise at Elgin, which afforded him only £30 a year. Charles Grant always remembered him with the deepest gratitude and affection as his second father and truest benefactor. He was known in the family as "the good uncle." Charles

grandson of John Oig, had three sons—Robert, James, and Patrick. Patrick married a daughter of Hugh Fraser of Erchless. He and his eldest son, Robert, were engaged in the rising of 1715, and were present at the battle of Sheriffmuir. Robert afterwards owned a farm at Polmaily in Glen Urquhart. Alexander, the third son of Robert, father of the subject of this Memoir, was a distinguished character in his native glen. He was known by the name of Alister-an-claigh, or Alexander with the Sword, from his great skill in all manly and martial exercises. He was a tall and handsome man, and remarkable for his great strength. While still very young, he entered the Highland regiment called "The Black Watch," a national [illegible] and composed of Highland gentlemen, app[illegible], that he of [illegible] militia for the [illegible] manufacturer, adding that she was sure, if he lived, all his relations would look up to him.

In the year 1758 William Forsyth, merchant and shipowner at Cromarty, visited a relative at Elgin, and inquired whether he could recommend him a steady lad as his apprentice. His relative mentioned Charles, who had just left school. This led to his being engaged by Forsyth as his apprentice. Hugh Miller, the distinguished geologist, who wrote a brief memoir of Forsyth, described him as a pious, God-fearing man, and said that "it was when residing in the family of Mr Forsyth, that Charles Grant received those serious impressions of the vital importance of religion, which so influenced his conduct through life."[1] The way in which he appreciated Forsyth's kindness to himself and to his family are seen from letters written in after life. He afterwards had it in his power to serve one of William Forsyth's sons by procuring an appointment for him in the East India Company's Civil Service.

[1] *A True Story of the Life of a Scottish Merchant of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 68.

thereby enlisting him in the service of Charles Edward Stuart; then, in token of fealty to his supposed sovereign, each enthusiastic warrior took the child's hand, and made it clasp the hilt of his sword with its baby fingers. A few weeks afterwards Alexander Grant was severely wounded at Culloden. He remained in concealment for a time, hiding in caves and woods, and when in the following year he was permitted to return to his home, he found his property destroyed, and, notwithstanding all his efforts, he could not retrieve his affairs. He struggled on, in these adverse circumstances, and then joined a Highland regiment [illegible]hich the Government was raising for service in [illegible]rica. He died at Havana in 1762 of a fever during the siege of that town.

to obedien[illegible]
and remember [illegible]
and in every way that[illegible] departure from Scotland left his [illegible]
the servants of the meanest rank. Above all things, remember your duty to God in prayer every morning and evening. Seek the assistance of the Divine Spirit in all your actions, and you may expect to prosper.

The following letter shows how the iron had entered into the lad's soul.

Charles Grant to his Uncle John.

CROMARTY, 14*th June* 1762.

I received yours, and I'm really sorry that you are no better stocked with Cash, though more on your account than my own. When I consider my present situation, and see but little prospect of bettering it against Whitsunday, I am willing to continue with Mr Forsyth, though indeed I have many Considerations to incline me to the contrary. I suppose I shall be used with respect to Cloaths as I have been these three half years past, if the reward of my service be allowed to my Master's discretion. Indeed I have been ill used in this respect, for his waiting boy can put on better Cloaths, and appear genteeler before Company than I do or can do. When you write an answer to

his letter, be sure to write fully, and tell him that you hope he will keep me in good Cloaths, were it only for one Consideration that I may have no hinderance of this kind in case I should be called away suddenly, either at the middle or end of this term. You may hint likewise (if you please) that I shall always stand in need of a few pence in my pocket, that I may not appear to be poor and destitute of friends, with which I am reproached. Such Contumelys I cannot well bear, especially after my apprenticeship will be out.

Soon after he had written this Charles Grant's prospects began to brighten. The light came through the kindness of a cousin, Captain Alexander Grant, who had previously served under Clive in India, but who was now a partner in a mercantile house at Aldermanbury, in the City of London. John Grant requested his relative kindly to exert himself on behalf of Charles, and his letter was followed by one from Charles himself, which was written so well that his cousin was struck by the excellence of the composition.

Mr Forsyth cheerfully consented to Charles's going to London, and gave him an excellent character as will appear from the following quaintly worded letter.

William Forsyth to Captain Alexander Grant.

CROMARTY, *24th February* 1763.

This will be deliver'd you by Charles Grant, your relation, who has served me an apprenticeship four years, and as you are so good as to propose taking him into your employment as a Clerk in your business, he goes up to London for this purpose.

I do with truth and justice recommend him to you as a young man of a good genius for writing, Cyphers, and keeping of Accompts, as much as can be expected from one of his small degree of education, altho' his uncle has been as dutiful to him in this and every other respect as could be expected from one in his circumstances, and I

think I have done him the same justice in as far as the nature of my business, or the manner of keeping my books in the Retail trade of this country would admit; and altho' he is not fully capable to keep books after the Italian method, I know so much of his genius that he will, in a short time and by a little practice, render himself capable of keeping the principal books upon any branch of trade. He writes a good hand, and as he is young he may, and I hope will, greatly improve in this and every other respect.

Upon the whole, I recommend him to you as worthy of your friendship and encouragement, nor have I the least doubt of his rendering himself acceptable and endearing to you in all respects.

The letter he wrote you some time ago was of his own writing and diction, and I knew nothing of his having wrote you that letter until I saw your letter to his uncle making mention of the same.

I hope he will soon be with you in London, as he takes his passage to-morrow in a ship which immediately sails.

N.B.—As the fitting out of Charles in Cloathing and necessaries has cost more than his uncle could well afford, he goes up very scrimp of money, and it will be necessary that you pay his passage money.

This letter was delivered by Charles in person. Liberal in praise, however, William Forsyth was not liberal in the matter of money, and he let his young apprentice leave on his voyage from Inverness to London with only half a guinea in his pocket. He sailed on 1st March 1763, and was just a fortnight on the voyage. We can well imagine the eager Highland youth, just seventeen years of age, stepping, on that keen March morning, on board the sloop bound for London, with little more belonging to him than his master's letter of recommendation and the half-guinea.

Charles Grant remained in his cousin's employ five years and a half. He was at first a clerk, and then the head clerk. His cousin was sympathetic; but the other partners were just the reverse. On one occasion there was

a kind of rebellion among the three clerks, and Charles was deputed to lay their grievances before Captain Alexander. Matters went on more cheerfully after this, and Charles's letters, which had been rather desponding, became more cheerful. From time to time he remitted home sums from his slender income, and, with full right as it subsequently appeared, he gradually constituted himself the guardian of his brothers and sisters.

In April 1765 Alexander Grant went to Calcutta. It had been arranged that Charles should accompany him; but, much to the latter's disappointment, he had to remain behind. He gave his uncle several broad hints as to the reason for this. Evidently Captain Grant's partners could not be fully trusted, and Charles was left to take care of his cousin's interests. At this period of his life, besides writing constantly to his uncle, Charles kept up a voluminous correspondence with his dear friend, Sandy Allan, until the death of the latter in April 1766. The packet containing these letters was wrapped in a tattered piece of paper, superscribed: "Letters to my first Friend, ever respected. Written at 17. Oh for the time that has since passed! January 29, 1780." This correspondence was carried on in a bright and lively style by Charles, who literally poured out his heart to his dear friend, telling all his little troubles, anxieties, plans, flirtations, and amusements, which followed each other in artless and innocent succession. The friend replied in more sober fashion.

A very few extracts from this correspondence are here given. In one of the earliest letters, dated 11th August 1763, Charles mentioned having visited Vauxhall and the White Conduit House. Of the latter he said:—

"It is an agreeable place, and has some Gardens adjoining to it, in which are Seats very commodiously placed, and the fine hedges placed so as to fold in about them. The number of the Company that resort there

is incredible—they are of all sorts. Tea there cost me 6d.—Vauxhall 1s."

A little later he wrote:—

"I was at the Hay Market Theatre the other night, where I saw the very celebrated Mimic, Foote, perform. You cannot conceive how droll, and with what life he represents things. Some time since I was at Richmond Gardens—about eight miles in the Country. They are extremely pleasant, and approach nearest to a description in romance of anything I ever saw. I am charm'd, yet abash'd, with the manner in which you reprove me for indulging worldly Meditations in preference to those my Duty enforces. 'Tis the greatest proof of Friendship, when one friend can reprove another with freedom, and a sincere regard for his Welfare is his Motive. I can assure you, Sandy, what you say has its force with me. It carries Conviction along with it, and the sound and correct manner in which you lay it down makes its truth appear more plainly and to greater Advantage."

Charles entrusted his brother Robert to the care of this friend, even though their uncle John was then living at Cromarty. On 20th May 1765 he wrote as follows:—

"Your Accounts of Robie please me much. His future Rise in the World certainly in a great measure depends on the Improvement he makes in his present Situation. He could no where be placed so much to my satisfaction as under your care. . . . By all means instill religious principles and knowledge into him, or get Russell to do it; they will be of infinite Service to him. Not that I have a greater opinion than you of Russell's parts. I allow that he's a Block, tho' in this case, I hope not of the Stumbling kind, but of that sort which are fixed as Signals for Seamen to avoid unseen Rocks, Shelves, and other Dangers. Your good offices to my Uncle demand his Gratitude and Acknowledgement as well as mine. I understand he is now fix'd at Cromarty, where I wish he may be

easie and at liberty to do his Duty civilly, without Disturbance or Reproach. . . . I should before now have acknowledged the Receipt of a genteel pair of Buckles delivered to me in your name. I thank you for this present, Sandy; the pattern is the prettiest I have seen of the Silver kind. However you will see them and judge for yourself when I return from Bengal."

In 1766 the great event to which Charles had been looking forward began to assume a clear and definite shape. His departure for Calcutta drew near. He had recently contracted a friendship with certain gentlemen connected with the India House, on whom he relied for help to start for the country of his ambition and hopes. One of these was Mr Becher, to whom he was afterwards deeply indebted for substantial assistance.

"My good friend, Mr Becher," he wrote to his uncle on 20th November 1766, "leaves London to-morrow. He acts generously to me, and, with the assistance of another Gentleman, I shall be able to quit this place, and appear in Bengal decently. I am obliged to petition the Company to serve as a Cadet, the Liberty of going to India unless as a Sailor or in their service being now denied. When I arrive there I shall throw off that character, and, in the meantime, it will save expense."

This fact must have been the origin of an impression that he went out in the East India Company's military service. It was merely a nominal appointment.

In the prospect of his immediate departure, he wrote the following affectionate letter to his uncle:—

Charles Grant to his Uncle.

17*th October* 1766.

If I am successful, my first, my fondest wish shall be to give ease, and, if I can, affluence to you and the children. What do I not feel from the hardships to

which you are exposed! I do not so much desire riches for myself as for my friends, and if I ever acquire any, I trust they will not change my present sentiments. I long to relieve you from any necessity under which you have pined, and to make you some recompence for all your tenderness and attention to myself, and the rest of my father's helpless family. Believe me, my heart swells when I flatter myself with the most distant prospect of ever removing your wants. I owe you much; I am bound to you by every tie.

Later on, in June 1767, he announced:—

"I have now fixed my passage on board the *Admiral Watson*, India man, Captain Griffin, bound for Madrass and Bengal. Robie is a midshipman on board her, and he sailed in her from Gravesend to Plymouth."

The two persons to whom Charles Grant was at this time most indebted were Mr Sumner, who helped him considerably in pecuniary affairs, and Mr Scrafton, one of the East India Company's Directors, who obtained for him permission to embark, and obtained for his brother a midshipman's appointment. The *Admiral Watson* was detained at Plymouth for several months. The suspense was of use to Charles, for it enabled him to enter into another "adventure," as a mercantile speculation was called in those days. Brilliant visions of success floated before the young adventurer's eyes.

"Mr Sumner assures me," he wrote, "that cousin Alexander is worth twenty thousand pounds, which is an amazing sum to be realised in two years." He felt assured of Mr Becher's friendship, he being "the bosom friend of the Governor of Bengal." "The faces of people here," he added sagaciously, "have brightened upon me prodigiously of late; when they find that I am not likely to stand in need of it, they are forward in protestations of friendship."

At last the *Admiral Watson* set sail. There was a further delay of six days after Charles had embarked,

and he related, in what was intended to be a farewell letter, a great misfortune in the theft of all his under-clothing, which he said £40 would not cover. However, there was the set-off, on the other side, of the cheerful and elastic spirits of youth. A brief note was sent as the ship was getting under weigh. Ever thinking of his uncle, who had done so much for him, he informs him that he had asked Mr Scrafton to advance money on his behalf in case of need. Thus, full of hope, the two brothers quitted England for Bengal.

CHAPTER II

FIRST EXPERIENCE OF BENGAL AND RETURN TO ENGLAND

A.D. 1768 TO 1773

Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope—The *Admiral Watson* touches at Madras—Arrival at Calcutta—First letter from Bengal—Position of the East India Company's affairs in Bengal—Dual Government—Letter to the Marquis of Hastings—Grant's own description of the political situation—Grant received into Mr Becher's family—Becher's removal to Murshidabad—The Lake of Pearl—Famine in Bengal—Strenuous exertion of Becher and Grant to alleviate suffering—Description of the famine—Lord Curzon's comparison between the famine of 1770 and that of 1900—Accusation against Becher—Grant ill with fever—Return with Becher to England—A cadetship obtained for Robert—Recovery on the voyage—Visit to the Highlands—Meeting with uncle, sisters, and brother—Letter to Robert—Application at the India House—Desire for Writership—Tour on the Continent of Europe—Kindness to his brother John—Obtains a Writership—Letter to the donor—Refusal for permission to travel overland to India—Marriage with Miss Fraser—Engagement of his sister Catherine—Arrangements for both sisters—and for John—Care for his Uncle John—Accompanied to India by Mrs Grant's mother and sister—Departure of the *Vansittart.*

THE earliest tidings of the youthful voyagers came from the Cape of Good Hope. Grant was most kindly received at Cape Town by Mrs Sumner's mother, to whom that lady had given him a letter of introduction. He was entertained, as he wrote, with "a profusion of civility, and everything that can be useful or agreeable after a long voyage." On 11th May 1768 he wrote from Madras. He had a word of good cheer for his uncle :—

"I am in good health and spirits, and I believe my Constitution will accord well enough with the Climate of India. I have been here three days, and in a Week shall proceed to Bengal. . . . There are Wars in this Country, but far removed from the Chief Settlements."

This reference was to the war with Hyder Ali, which was then agitating the minds of the authorities at Madras.

The *Admiral Watson* reached Calcutta early in June 1768. Charles Grant was most cordially welcomed by Mr Becher, who received him into his house, and adopted him into his family, so that Charles felt bound to him by the strongest ties. He did not write to his uncle for three months, but then sent him a long letter. This, the first letter from Bengal, abounds with expressions of loving thoughtfulness for his relations, after whom his heart was evidently yearning, and gives a cheerful view of the prospects opening before him.

Charles Grant to his Uncle John.

CALCUTTA IN BENGAL, 18*th September* 1768.

I have now the pleasure to address myself to you, from the place which it has long been my great desire to arrive at. Everything I have met with since my being here has served to confirm the sanguine hopes I had entertained; and, if God spares me life and health, I hope a very few years will enable me to assist you and the children effectually. My fortune has hitherto been singularly good. Our friend Mr Grant and his lady received me with open arms, and I found in Mr Becher such a friend as I never had any reason to look for, even from his own promise, which he has very far exceeded. He has taken me into his family, and has given me the care of his business, which is establishing me at once upon so favourable a footing as to give me reasonable expectations of arriving in time at Independency.

Charles Grant remained in Bengal about two years and a half. The time during which he was there was part of the worst period in the early administration of the East India Company in Bengal. Lord Clive had left India during the previous year, held in very bad repute by the English inhabitants of Bengal, who had winced under his vigorous measures. The battle of Plassy, which made the English masters of Bengal, had been fought eleven years before. The puppet Emperor of Delhi had, three years previously, granted to the East India Company the sovereignty of the three provinces, Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The Company had not, however, yet stood forth as Dewan, to use the old historical expression,—that is, they had not taken the complete management of the country into their own hands. The province of Bengal groaned under a dual government. The collection of the Revenue was still left in the power of the Nawab. The Company's agents were left very much to themselves; and, though Lord Clive had taken from them the privilege of receiving presents from the officials, they were still permitted to carry on private trade for their own advantage. Consequently corruption was rampant among Europeans, Hindus, and Mohammedans. Amidst this unhappy scene the cultivators of the soil were the great sufferers. In addition to all these misfortunes, an appalling famine devastated the land in 1769-70. During the greater part of this time, Mr Verelst, a weak and inefficient administrator, whom Charles, even before starting from England, had from the accounts received, described as an "indolent man," was Governor. It was the darkest hour which precedes the dawn. The year after Grant reached India Warren Hastings took the government into his own capable hands.

Many years afterwards Grant wrote an interesting retrospect of these early times. In a letter to the Marquis of Hastings, dated 11th September 1819, he said:—

"It is now more than fifty years since I first visited that country. The native Government was then still subsisting in all its forms; the people probably much the same as they had been for many preceding centuries, only somewhat deteriorated by the provincial usurpations and oppressions which had followed the decline of the Moghul Empire. The intolerance of the dominant sect of the Mohamedans produced between them and the Hindoos a standing animosity. The Europeans, the new masters of the country, though dreaded both by Mohamedans and Hindoos, had many things in their manners so revolting to Eastern notions as to make them objects of odium and contempt to both. There was then little prospect of bringing such discordant parts into a composed harmonising whole. In fact, the continuance of European ascendency was uncertain. The British rulers looked chiefly to the calls and exigencies of the time present, they attended to the maintenance of military and political power, and to the pecuniary supplies requisite to that end. Nor was private interest at that time always insensible to the use of the influence which every European, in one degree or other, possessed; but how the country was to support the demands upon it, and to be prosperously managed, did not then come under their cognisance. The conduct of its internal affairs was left to the native administration, who felt less for the public welfare than even the usurpers who arose after the invasion of Nadir Shah, for they saw their situation to be quite precarious and dependent; and, therefore, looked chiefly to make the best of their present time. There was, in consequence, much disorder and misrule in the country. Monopolies in India were too commonly practised by natives in the names of Europeans, whom it was thought hazardous to offend; arbitrary exactions were too general in the collection of the revenues, and there was gross corruption in the administration of justice. The country sensibly declined, and the British ascendency became very unpopular. Probably no human penetration could then have foreseen the great changes which have since taken place. They have been effected by many steps, against many prejudices and obstacles. It was the principle of British humanity that first interfered (1769). The gradual suppression of the native Government followed. This was

not the work of ambition, but of necessary policy. Yet every step was attended with difficulties after the administration was taken into our own hands. Nearly twenty years elapsed in inquiries, discussions, debates, and experiments respecting the best method of revenue and judicial administration, before these great questions were finally determined by the Perpetual Land Settlement and the Judicial Code of Lord Cornwallis."

Mr Becher was at the time of Grant's arrival a Member of Council at Calcutta; but he was soon afterwards removed to Murshidabad, as Political Resident at the Court of the Nawab of Bengal. The management of his private trade was entrusted to Grant, who had become a shrewd man of business, though little more than two-and-twenty years of age. Becher left Calcutta for his new position in January 1769. This change is mentioned in the following letter.

Charles Grant to his Uncle John.

MOOTIJILL, OR THE LAKE OF PEARL,
(Near the City of Muxadavad, the Nabob's Capital),
24th January 1769.

Mr Becher has been appointed Resident at the Nabob's Court, a place of the first Trust and Honour, and the most advantageous in the Company's Service, but to which no other had so good a Claim as himself, both on account of his Rank in the Service, and distinguished Character for Probity, Understanding, Experience, and Influence with the Country People, Zeal for the Company's Interest, and, in short, every Virtue of a Conscientious, a Capable, and an Amiable Man. This Appointment has, of course, brought about his Removal from Calcutta—a Change which I am no less pleased with than he, as both in point of pleasure and Advantage I have reason to give it the preference. The only disagreeable Circumstance is, that we shall in all appearance return again too soon. The Intrigues of others who are in power may contribute to this, and Mr Becher, who is advancing in years, and has a family, is anxious to return to his Native Country, which he may do

at the end of this Year. Far be it from me even secretly to desire his longer Stay; but my attachment to him is so strong, my obligations so many, and my Situation with him so enviable that I cannot think of his Departure but with a heavy Heart. It is true this is looking a great way forward; and, since I anticipate ills, I may also be allow'd to flatter myself that I shall then be more capable of serving my Friends, and also, through Mr Becher's Influence and Recommendations, I shall be nominated into the Service. His new Situation has brought on a great flow of Business, which has not as yet subsided, and I must continue to request Indulgence of my other Friends for delaying to write to them.

After remembrances to his friends in the Highlands, he added:—

"I have seen many things since I left you all; I am now in the heart of an extensive and rich Country, where everything is new to me, but I do not find that the Impression of my early Connections, nor my regard for such Society as I enjoyed with them, at all wears off."

Mōti Jhīl, or the Lake of Pearl, where this letter was written, was the name of the beautiful grounds in which the Political Resident resided. It was situated about three miles to the south of "the city," as Murshidabad was called, it being then the capital of the Province. The palace was built, and the grounds adorned, by Sirāj-ud-daula, the Nawab of Bengal, at an enormous expense. After Sirāj-ud-daula's defeat at Plassy, Lord Clive had in this palace placed Mir Jaffir on the throne; but the new sovereign Nawab determined to reside on the farther side of the river, and the Lake of Pearl became the home of the Political Resident. The grounds were exquisitely lovely.[1]

The cold season of 1769-70 was the most trying that had been experienced in Bengal for generations. The

[1] Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. x. *Life and Correspondence of Lord Teignmouth*, by his Son, vol. i. p. 35. Hatchards, 1843.

famine which ensued was peculiarly severe round Murshidabad; and Becher, in his responsible position as Political Resident, exerted every nerve to alleviate the sufferings of the famine-stricken people. The present Government of India has profited by the sad experience of the past, and has acquired the art of dealing with the terrible distress which is occasioned by the cessation of the usual rains; but in those days no such provision was made, and the full brunt of this appalling calamity, than which there is no more awful that can befall a community in Oriental lands, fell directly on the starving people.

In September, 1769, English merchants were prohibited from trading in rice. Strict injunctions were issued against hoarding grain. A sufficient stock of food was laid in for the supply of the Sepoy troops. Multitudes flocked into Murshidabad. Subscriptions were invited, and the Company, the Nawab, the Europeans, and the native officials, liberally contributed. Some seven thousand people were daily fed in the capital. What could be done was done, but not with the care, the precision, the science of modern times.

"At length," to quote Grant's own account, "a gloomy calm succeeded. Death had ended the miseries of a great portion of the people; and, when a new crop came forward in August, it had, in some parts, no one to gather it in. The number which fell in this period of horror has been variously estimated, and may, perhaps, be moderately taken as three millions."[1]

In connection with this appalling famine, we cannot refrain from quoting the account of it given by the present Viceroy, Lord Curzon, in his spirited protest against the accusation that Lord George Hamilton and he had looked helplessly on during the famine of 1900.

[1] *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*, by Charles Grant, 1797, pp. 17-23. *Life of Lord Teignmouth*, vol. i. p. 25.

The contrast between the eighteenth century and the present day is most striking.

"I have looked up the statistics," he wrote, "of the last great famine that occurred in Bengal, while that province was still under native administration. This was in the year 1770. I speak of local administration, because, although the Diwani of Bengal had been assumed by the Company a few years before, the latter had not yet taken over the civil administration, which remained in the hands of the former native officers of the Delhi Government. Throughout the summer of that year it is on record that the husbandmen sold their cattle; they sold their implements of agriculture; they sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children could be found; they ate the leaves of trees and the grass of the field; and when the height of the summer was reached, the living were feeding on the dead. The streets of the cities were blocked up with promiscuous heaps of the dead and dying; even the dogs and jackals could not accomplish their revolting work. Disease attacked the starving and shelterless survivors, and swept them off by hundreds of thousands. Subsequent calculations revealed that the failure of this single crop, in the single province of Bengal, had carried off within nine months no fewer than ten out of less than thirty millions of human beings.

Every man, woman, and child who has perished in India in the present famine has been a burden upon my heart and upon that of Government. Their sufferings have never been absent from our thoughts. It cannot truthfully be said, even by the most envenomed of opponents, that we have looked helplessly on. On the contrary, I fearlessly claim, and I challenge contradiction, that there has never been a famine when the general mortality has been less, when the distress has been more amply or swiftly relieved, or when Government and its officers have given themselves with a more whole-hearted devotion to the saving of life and the service of the people."[1]

[1] Parliamentary Blue-Book containing *Papers regarding the Famine and the Relief Operations in India during* 1900-1902, vol. i.

It can scarcely be credited that Becher, who had so nobly done his duty in mitigating the effects of the famine of 1770, was actually accused of having caused it. No wonder that Charles Grant rose indignantly in defence of his friend — "a man," he afterwards wrote, "noted for his honesty, whose exertions for alleviating the miseries of that whole period ended in an illness that almost cost him his life. Upon his return to England he found himself traduced as the author of the famine." Calumny regarding other matters was rife against Becher, and he was dismissed from the Company's service; but he was subsequently reinstated, and died in 1784, at Calcutta, whither he had returned with shattered fortune as well as in impaired health.

"On my first Arrival in Town," wrote Grant to his cousin on 14th December 1771, "I expected that a Character so establish'd as Mr Becher, his long Course of honourable, zealous Service, would have attracted the Esteem and Respect of all Parties. Judge of my growing Astonishment, when I first heard some Distant Suspicions of his Conduct, then his Fortune monstrously exaggerated, his Abilities more plainly doubted, and at length his Dismission from the Service. No words can describe my Amazement at all these accumulated Injuries. I sought in vain for some distant Proportion, some latent Analogy between Cause and Effect. In vain did I, from my own particular knowledge, assert and prove in various Instances the Goodness of his Head, the Cleanness of His Hands, and the Purity of His Heart. Not a single Avenue to Relief was left unoccupied or could be forced."

While at Murshidabad, and probably from his exertions during the famine, Charles contracted a severe fever, which, after having once been cured, returned with accelerated strength, and brought him almost to the gate of death. His medical attendant insisted on his immediate return to England. When Becher was

recovering from the fever which had also attacked him, he was ordered to try the effect of the sea-air at Balasore; and, if this should prove insufficient, to proceed at once to his native land for more complete change. Charles consequently accompanied him and his family in their budgerow to Calcutta; and, after a few months, returned with them to England in the ship *Europa*, which left Calcutta at the end of January, and reached London in July 1771.

Before leaving India Charles had obtained a Cadetship for his brother Robert, who had remained some time in the Company's Marine in the expectation of obtaining some appointment which would suit him better. He had made several voyages to the Carnatic and Bombay; but he was rejoiced to effect this exchange into the military service, which had been effected through the good offices of his brother's friends.

Charles reached England in tolerably good spirits. Some insight into his ideas and plans can be ascertained from the following letter to his cousin James written on his homeward voyage:—

"Mr Becher seems sincerely desirous to befriend me, and thinks it will be more eligible for me to settle at home, if I can do it on a creditable footing and with tolerable prospects. It is his intention, however, to exert all his interest with his friends for my appointment into the Company's service on the best conditions that can be obtained. Leave will easily be granted me to remain a year in England; and, if nothing better offers for me at home in that time, I will visit India again, but, instead of immuring myself in the horrid confines of a ship, will proceed by land, and see a great part of Europe in my stay."

The clear sea-air thoroughly restored Grant to health, and he heartily enjoyed his holiday in England. He paid a visit to his relatives in the Highlands; he took a little tour on the Continent of Europe; but throughout

all his occupations and recreations he exerted himself to attain the object of his ambition—an appointment in the East India Company's Civil Service. Many matters consequent on his return detained him in London until the end of September, when he paid a visit to the scenes of his boyhood in the Highlands. We observe from his letters how much his character had strengthened and matured, while his affection to his near relatives and his generous ideas towards them had by no means abated. A false report of his uncle's death by drowning had startled him, and this, as he said, hastened his departure for the North. His uncle, sisters, and brother were rejoiced to see him. They had, perhaps, formed rather too high an estimate of the fortune he had been able to acquire while in India; but the way in which he travelled, which was a great contrast to the penniless condition in which he had left Inverness only eight years before, might easily have deceived them. He was most generous to all his relatives. He settled £300 on each of his sisters in the event of her marriage; he insisted on his brother John being sent to the University of Aberdeen at his expense; and he gave substantial help to some poor relations on his mother's side. He seems to have spent only eight days at Cromarty, and afterwards to have paid a visit to his relatives in Urquhart, his uncle and his sister accompanying him thither in a chaise brought for the purpose from Edinburgh—the first apparently that had ever been seen in that remote region. His uncle and sister thoroughly enjoyed this visit, to which they looked back in after years with the greatest pleasure. The latter seem to have regarded him with admiration commingled with awe.

During his visit to his native country, Charles Grant had set his heart on making an accurate inquiry into his pedigree and into the history of his family. The result of this investigation is stated in an animated letter to his brother Robert, from which we give a few extracts. It

also contains his version of his visit to Scotland related with considerable vigour and force.

Charles Grant to his Brother Robert.

INNER TEMPLE, 11*th December* 1771.

About the latter end of September I paid a visit to the North in company with Colonel Fraser. I was precipitated into this measure partly by a malicious and false report of my uncle's death, which was industriously circulated in several newspapers; but to my great joy I found him in much better health than I expected, and you may guess what kind of meeting we had. I found the girls, too, very well—not handsome, but sensible, affectionate, and extremely proper in their behaviour. I had been led to conceive rather too highly of Johnnie, who was represented to me as possessing extraordinary natural and acquired accomplishments. Upon the whole, I was very well pleased with him, but I had my ideas concerning him to correct; for as to his person, he is like myself, tall and clumsy; but withal of a tolerable appearance; and, though his genius seems to be quick, his application has not been great. My uncle, honest man, mistook mightily in one essential instance by not following my directions for sending him to the College, which the people in that country deemed unnecessary, unless he had been designed for a learned profession. By this omission he lost two years, or turned them to little account, for he was either at the Grammar School of Aberdeen, spending money without reaping much advantage, or else he passed his time among his Urquhart friends, where he was improperly indulged. The young man is lively and has words. My visit happened luckily enough for him, though he was, perhaps, a little mortified at some observations which I thought it expedient to make. Not that I treated him harshly; but I rectified his sentiments, and sent him to the College of Aberdeen, with strict injunctions and earnest exhortations to regain the time he had lost by his diligence and assiduity. I have a letter from him since his settlement there, written in a decent style and proper strain. I make no doubt of his turning out very

well, but all I have determined about him is, to give him a good education.

I was obliged to hasten back to London, and stayed only eight days at Cromarty. You can hardly conceive the noise my arrival made in the country any more than the joy it occasioned in our own little family, then really a very happy one. It was with much regret I left them so soon, and few things in the world would affect them more than my departure. The girls have exceedingly good understanding, and have read, but they are too much tinctured with that gloomy Spirit of religion which like a cloak covers the Black Isle. May, more amiable, Katie, lively and good-natured. The former, poor girl, has had but indifferent health of late, and, I think, seems inclined to melancholy and a consumptive habit. I do not find that either of them have formed any attachment; but, perhaps, the settlement I have made upon them, small though it is, may soon procure offers. I was assured by all my friends in the North that three hundred pounds each would be sufficient, and answer the purpose as well as five. As to my uncle, poor man, to whom we are all so infinitely indebted, it has not been in my power to tender him so much as I could have wished, and what I was desirous to give he refused. His pitiful office which he has so long toiled in with disgust, I proposed to him to resign, and live upon an annuity which I would purchase for him, but this he absolutely declined. He owned that his business was still irksome to him; but said he saw no reason for relinquishing a salary which he was able to earn, that he chose to be as little burthensome as possible to me, and instead of any resignation or any annuity, if I would continue to him the bounty, as he was pleased to call it, which he had received for some years, he would be sufficiently happy, and still enjoy the society of his nieces in his little family without any additional expense to me. Poverty, obscurity, and age have not been able to debase his spirit. Never did I see anything more disinterested, more honourable, more generous than his behaviour. If he lives until my fortune or my prospects in life are improved, I shall certainly prevail with him to quit his office, for it reflects no credit on any of us, and the girls especially feel some inconvenience from it. 'Tis but adding £30 more to his annual income.

From Cromarty I went to Urquhart, where I found another party of very cordial and very happy friends. By the way, my uncle and May made shift to get there in a Chaise that I had hired from Edinburgh, the first I believe ever seen in the Strath. You can figure to yourself the wonder which our appearance excited in this remote corner. It was heightened by the idea of my fortune, which report had everywhere magnified to at least twenty thousand. I quitted Urquhart with very great reluctance, and at Inverness went through some scenes too affecting to be particularly described. I found in short all the descendants of that respectable man, Donald Macbean, in a state of ruin and distress a thousand times worse than beggary. I found them out, for though they heard of my being in the country they did not seek me. In the midst of wretchedness they were modest, and preserved some of that feeling which characterises the better born. What was judged expedient to be done, I executed with pleasure to myself, and with no less joy than astonishment to them. You may remember something of your mother; but perhaps not the mild spirit and placid sense for which she was distinguished. Her sister brought all her character and even appearance to my mind.

So much for family affairs. I had forgot, indeed, that there was another article to be mentioned which may properly come under this head. In my enquiries in the North concerning our descent and connections, I received a great deal of information which it is proper to communicate both to James Grant and you. For this purpose I send him a paper which I desire you to peruse. It is drawn up in a hurry, but contains some interesting particulars. By it you may trace your relation to the Grants, Frasers, Macbeans, M'Kenzies, Chisholms, Baillies, and all the best families in the North. You stop me here. Perhaps you think it a weakness to pay attention to a thing that has been so much exploded. A man may have a proper sense of family without appearing either vain or supercilious. It can be no prejudice certainly to his conduct in life to believe and to know that he is born a gentleman. None but those who have no good blood to boast of will say so. It is not for us, indeed, whose immediate ancestors have been unfortunate, to be particular on this subject; but the

inward feelings of it should be kept awake, and should influence our sentiments and views. It is true that our family has been gradually sinking into obscurity for the last century; as yet, however, though they have been poor and depressed, they have not mixed with the vulgar, and I hope they never will. You have as pure a descent, Sir, for upwards of five hundred years as any gentleman in the North. It depends now upon us whether it shall be preserved, and our family brought again into some degree of consideration.

The state of parties in India affairs is such as gives me very little hope of the Service for the present year. I have none, and if it shall be the same next year, nothing will remain but to fix myself in business here. In the meantime I appear as a candidate, and endeavour to establish some interest with leading people, but I am awkward at the business, and afraid of being thought destitute, which indeed is ridiculous enough in itself; besides that, I am taken everywhere for a man of independent fortune. When the campaign in Leadenhall Street is pretty well over, I think of making an excursion of some months to the South of France, which for several reasons may be very expedient. At present I live in chambers in the Temple, in a very moderate style, but by various ways I find myself drained of a great deal of money.

My friend Mr Becher, to whose character, you know, every man in India looks up to with respect, has been vilified and traduced here, by a set of anonymous scoundrels or Jacks in office, who envy him his fortune, and cannot feel his worth. The time may come when justice will be done to his services; and his enemies, some of whom are also in India, be covered with confusion. But he looks not to this, nor need he. He has the inward consciousness of his own integrity and uncommon zeal in the Company's affairs to support him.

During the years 1771 and 1772 he was constant in his attendance at the India House, with the object of attaining the fulfilment of his desire. He had many good friends in office there; but his best friend, Mr Becher, was then living in retirement. His spirits were affected by his dread of failure or anticipation of success.

At one time he gave up all hope, and it was almost settled that he should go to India in a different capacity to that which he desired. There was at that time a most objectionable spirit of intrigue in the India House. Party feeling ran high. Neither the policy of the British Government nor that of the Directors was clear and decided, and there was much contention and recrimination in the House, chiefly arising from private correspondence from India being unadvisedly made public. "I could hardly adventure," Grant wrote, "to answer for any Body who breathes the Air of Leadenhall Street."

Charles was delighted to escape from this unpleasant atmosphere by taking a tour on the Continent of Europe. He was anxious about John, who did not appear sufficiently willing to take advantage of the education which his brother was ready to afford him.

"I will tell you at once," he wrote to his uncle, "how he is not to be dispos'd of, and that is in lounging another summer about Cromarty. His mind was before enervated by this kind of Life, and, if he were to continue it now that he is grown a Man, he would be fitter for the exercise of the Distaff than of the pen."

As the University vacation was approaching, he requested that John should be sent from Scotland to accompany him on his tour, on which he was absent about two months. At length Charles attained the object for which he had been striving. He thus announced his success to his uncle.

Charles Grant to his Uncle John.

LONDON, 14*th December* 1772.

The cloud which obscur'd my Prospects begins to dispell. I have got rid of a very heavy Engagement in which I had too easily suffer'd myself to be involved.

The sum was no less than five thousand pounds. What is of still more consequence to me, I have at length got my appointment in the Company's Service for Bengal; and, in a few months hence, I shall set out again for that country, finally to prove whether I shall obtain Fortune and Reputation.

He was indebted for this Writership to Henry Savage, a Director, who gave it to him at Becher's request. When he had obtained this coveted appointment, he made a formal application to the Court of Directors for permission to proceed to India overland *viâ* Persia. This request, much to his vexation, was peremptorily refused. He expressed his disappointment to his uncle in the following terms:—

Charles Grant to his Uncle.

LONDON, *2nd February* 1773.

The Company have refused me permission to go to India overland, and further insist on my embarking for my appointed Station by one of the Ships of this Season. Both these Circumstances are extremely mortifying to me. I had set my Heart on the journey to Bussorah, which, had it been allowed, would also have enabled me to have perform'd my intended Visit to the North; but the Refusal of the first, and the Order to repair immediately to Bengal, puts this Visit entirely out of my Power, and frustrates many pleasing Expectations and Views I had form'd to myself from it. I have petitioned, remonstrated, and been dejected to no purpose. Submission is necessary, and that Fortitude which enables one to swallow so many bitter pills in the Course of Life, must be my only Resource upon the present Occasion.

This very disappointment, however, worked out for him a far more delightful course than he had anticipated, and was the precursor of an event which proved the greatest blessing of his life. He had recently made the acquaintance of Miss Jane Fraser, a niece of Colonel

Fraser, who had married the widow of Charles's cousin, Alexander Grant. Colonel Fraser had introduced him to his niece, and had at first favoured his evident attachment to her; but afterwards he strongly objected to it. This created a breach in the friendship between the Colonel and Charles Grant, who applied direct to the young lady herself with her mother's consent. His attachment was warmly returned. The engagement was necessarily very short. The wedding took place on 23rd February 1773, and preparation was at once made for the departure of the newly-married couple in the *Vansittart* bound for Bombay. It was a singularly happy union. Mrs Grant was very young, being scarcely seventeen years of age, and he was only ten years older. They were a handsome couple. She was very lovely, and her tastes were cultivated and refined: he is described as having been at that time a good-looking man, tall and dignified, with a clear, fresh complexion, large blue eyes deeply set under prominent brows, and a peculiarly pleasing smile. His marriage was the turning-point in his life. His wife exercised a beautiful influence over his character. She became his companion, comforter, and consoler through life, hardly ever being parted from him during the time of his active service; his trusted counsellor in cases of difficulty and doubt; and the unfailing light of his home.

Before his own wedding Charles Grant was called on to make arrangements for the marriage of his sister Catherine. Both his uncle and his sister referred to him for his consent on this occasion. The gentleman to whom she was engaged was William Sprott, Writer to the Signet, in Edinburgh; and Charles's approval having been obtained, the wedding took place in the month of May, a few days after the *Vansittart* had sailed.

Charles had been anxious regarding the health of his elder sister Margaret. She had long been ailing, and he was afraid that the climate of Cromarty did not suit

her, or that her inclination to retirement, or, as he called it, melancholy, was affecting her health. So far back as November 1771, after his visit to the North, he wrote:—

"I have thought that you consider Life through too mortifying a Medium, and that the Melancholy which evidently affected your Spirits flow'd from this Source. Undoubtedly we are only to conceive the present as a Channell to a better State; but the real Evils with which it is chequer'd are sufficient to regulate our Sentiments of it in due Subordination, and I apprehend that to be the best System of Opinion which makes us happy here and yet desirous of an hereafter."

John was left to continue his studies at the University of Aberdeen. There can be no doubt of the affection which he entertained for his generous brother; but he seems to have been very idle and averse to study, and ready to waste his time in frivolous amusements. Some of Charles's thoughts regarding him are contained in the last letter to his uncle from London dated 22nd April 1773.

"I perceive," he wrote, "that John has at length decided for the Army. He must content himself with the Company's Service. I advise the young man to make the best use of his present golden opportunity, and to direct his Studies henceforth chiefly to military Subjects. Tell him in particular that, if he forgets one thing he has learnt at College, as is too common a Case, I will never forgive it. The name without anything else of an University education is ridiculous; and time and money spent without producing any permanent good the most insufferable, ruinous, irretrievable extravagance. If he imagines that by being an officer in India, he need be no longer a scholar, he never was more mistaken. It is my anxiety for him that dictates these precautions. I have, upon the whole, very good hopes of him."

The chief subject of Charles Grant's solicitude was his uncle. He wrote freely to this beloved relative regarding his pecuniary affairs, and he expressed his willingness

to help him in obtaining a better and more suitable appointment than the one he had so long held, in which endeavour he had hitherto been baffled by his uncle's wish not to give up the business in which he had been engaged, poor though it was, and his reluctance to be entirely dependent on his nephew.

This pleasant visit to England had now come to an end. Mr and Mrs Grant did not go out to India alone. They were accompanied by her mother and sister. The young bridegroom very naturally entertained some hesitation regarding this arrangement; but, on seeing the grief felt by both mother and daughter in prospect of their separation, his good nature and strong affection for his bride induced him to overcome his scruples, and we do not believe that he ever regretted this kind and generous decision. On 3rd May 1773, the *Vansittart* sailed from Portsmouth on her long and eventful voyage.

CHAPTER III

CALCUTTA IN THE OLDEN TIME

A.D. 1773 TO 1780

Voyage of the *Vansittart*—Duel at the Cape between Captain Roche and Captain Fergusson—Trial and acquittal of Captain Roche——Sent to England from Bombay—Acquittal in London—Grant's arrival and detention at Bombay—Letter to James—Birth of a daughter—Voyage to and arrival at Calcutta—John's voyage to Calcutta—Arrival of the new Councillors—Dissensions in the Council Chamber—Party spirit in Calcutta—Grant's friendship with Francis—Grant's appointment as Secretary to the Board of Trade—Duel between Clavering and Barwell—Grant did not help Francis in writing minutes on commercial subjects—Rupture between Francis and Grant — Clavering's assumption of the Government — Grant's interview with Warren Hastings — Anecdote of Colonel Monson—Corrupt state of Calcutta society —Grant's losses by play—Death of John Grant—Trial of Nuncomar—Robert's attachment to Miss Fraser—Death of "the good uncle" — Sorrow and retirement of Grant — Return to society.

THE *Vansittart* was more than eight months in reaching Bombay. We can quite understand Charles Grant's desire to go to India by what was then an unfamiliar and perilous route rather than to pass through the experience of another voyage round the Cape. Completely cut off from the solace of society and clubs, and cooped up within a narrow space together with many of different sympathies and tastes, the passengers, except a few who may have had a predilection for study, had no other resource than gossip, which speedily degenerated into

bickering and dissension. These evils seem to have been peculiarly rife on board the *Vansittart*.

Soon after leaving England a serious quarrel arose between Captain Roche, who had brought on board a reputation for strife, and Captain Fergusson, a brother officer, with whom Grant and his party had contracted a friendship. According to the evidence of the surgeon of the vessel, "Captain Roche had rendered himself so obnoxious to the other passengers that he was voted out of the cabin mess." This quarrel increased in virulence and intensity until they reached the Cape of Good Hope, where the ship arrived on 4th September 1773. That evening a violent fracas took place between the two officers at Cape Town, where the passengers had landed; and during the scuffle Captain Roche stabbed Captain Fergusson, who almost immediately expired. The two accounts of this conflict were diametrically opposed to each other. Grant asserted that while he and half-a-dozen other passengers, including Captain Fergusson, were at supper in a boarding-house, the landlord informed the latter that a Captain Matthew wanted to speak to him. Soon after he had left the room, a scuffle was heard, and Grant, who had closely followed him, saw, in the imperfect light, Captain Fergusson fall mortally wounded, and at the same time observed that his assailant was running away. Grant was fully persuaded that Captain Roche was guilty of deliberate murder. Captain Roche, who, two years later, while he was detained in prison in England, published his version of the story, declared that, as he was passing the boarding-house, Captain Fergusson rushed out and savagely attacked him with a cane and a sword, and that while defending himself he unintentionally slew him.[1]

Captain Roche was tried for murder by the Dutch

[1] *A Plain and Circumstantial Account of the Transactions between Captain Roche and Lieutenant Fergusson.* London, 1775.

authorities, was acquitted by the Fiscal or the Supreme Judge at the Cape of Good Hope, and was permitted to proceed to Bombay by a French vessel. There he was tried by the Governor and his Council, acting as Justices of the Peace, in August 1774, and was sent to England under arrest, where he arrived in June 1775. He was again, on 11th December, put on his trial before a Commission appointed by the King's Privy Council, consisting of Baron Burland, one of H.M.'s Judges, the Lord Mayor, and two others, at the Old Bailey. Act 33 of Henry VIII., for trial of offences committed in foreign parts outside the King's dominions, under which the Commission acted, rendered it imperative that the verdict should be one wholly of acquittal or of condemnation, so that the offence could not be brought in as manslaughter. The Jury acquitted the prisoner. The evidence was certainly most meagre and contradictory. With one exception, the principal witnesses were in India. The verdict was received by the public attending the Court with an unseemly exhibition of feeling in favour of the prisoner, which apparently there was no attempt on the part of the Judges to suppress.[1] This case created a great sensation at the time; but there is nothing to prove that it exercised an influence on the mind of the nation adverse to the reprehensible custom of duelling, which was only too common during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

The *Vansittart* reached Bombay on 16th January 1774. It was too late in the season for passenger vessels sailing to Calcutta, and it was most irksome for them to remain at a place which was so far from their proper destination. In the following letter he announces their arrival.

[1] The *Morning Chronicle* and *London Advertiser* of 12th December 1775. The *Morning Post* and *Daily Advertiser* of 12th December, and *Lloyd's Evening Post*, No. xxxvii., 11th to 13th December 1775.

Charles Grant to his Uncle John.

BOMBAY, *16th January* 1774.

We are at length arriv'd at this place. We are yet unsettled and in great confusion—almost every body and every thing strange to us. However, as we have rub'd through so many difficulties, we hope we shall do pretty well here likewise, and get at last to our long voyage's end. Your niece is rather indispos'd, or she would write either to you or my sisters; when we are once fix'd, I daresay she will be a constant correspondent. In the meantime, she desires you all to accept her affectionate salutes.

Grant was very anxious during his sojourn at Bombay, partly on account of his young wife's health, and partly on account of his longing to begin his work. He was also desirous to have everything ready for their reception on their arrival at Calcutta, and there was no one to whom he could better confide his wishes in this respect than his cousin James.

"The past year," he wrote on the first anniversary of his wedding, "has been a turbulent one—first with the hurry of preparations to quit England under embarrassing circumstances; next with a long, disagreeable, disastrous voyage; and, lastly, with the confusion of our first arrival in a strange place, where we find many things unpleasant. But, after all these trials, I have never past a year wherein I enjoyed so much rational happiness, or to which I could look back with equal pleasure. I have infinite cause to rejoice in the good fortune which my marriage secured to me. My wife, who has a large share both of understanding and sensibility, is yet so much distinguished by the mildness and complacency of her temper, that there never was a person whose claim to the flitch of bacon was more undoubted."

At length this anxiety came to an end. A little girl, who was christened Elizabeth, was born on 27th April.

Eighteen days after her birth the party embarked for Bengal, and, after a pleasant passage which lasted three weeks, they reached Calcutta. His brother Robert, his cousin Colonel Hugh Grant, and his cousin James, who was on the eve of returning to England for a time, warmly welcomed them, and were charmed with their new relative. "James," he wrote to his uncle, "will give you her character; but indeed I care not who gives it. She is happily one of those whom all must respect."

Four months later John arrived. A great effort had been made at the India House to procure an appointment for him, but without success. The authorities in Leadenhall Street were in anything but a happy frame of mind. The Regulating Act had been recently enacted, and the new Councillors appointed under its provisions were on the eve of departure. The greatest jealousy prevailed, and the strictest surveillance was exercised by the Court of Directors. Writing to his sister May, John said:—"There is full assurance that neither Writers, Cadets, or other Servants of the Company shall be allowed to pass for the East Indies this season. What is still more unlucky, the Company's Sea Captains are forbid to carry any private person under penalty of paying three thousand pounds." At length he obtained a nominal berth as midshipman on board the *Earl of Ashburnham*, the semi-historic vessel which conveyed General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis to India. This position was given him by the favour of the Captain of the vessel, and he was not always required to do duty as a junior officer, and sometimes he even threw aside his uniform. Though he afterwards called the voyage "eight months' purgatory," he thought himself fortunate in obtaining permission to go at all.

"Considering the present critical situation of the Company's affairs," he wrote to his sister May,

"many whose expectations in life are far superior to mine would be glad to have the same opportunity as I flatter myself with."

The letters which he wrote home from the different ports are especially interesting as coming from the same vessel as some of the Francis letters recently published.[1]

On his arrival at Calcutta John found his brother Robert staying in Charles's house. Robert was now a Lieutenant in the Company's Army. He had won for himself a character as a capable and intelligent officer. He had diligently studied Persian, and had become so proficient in it that he afterwards obtained the position of aide-de-camp and interpreter to the Nawab of Oude. He was at this time stationed with his regiment at Monghir, which being at no very great distance from Calcutta, he was frequently an inmate of his brother Charles's house. It was a great pleasure for the three brothers thus to be together.

Grant arrived at Calcutta at a most critical period. He had quitted England just about the time that Lord North's Regulating Act became law, and, as we have seen, his brother John went out in the same vessel as the Councillors who had been appointed by the Government under that Act. The new administration changed the whole aspect of political affairs and the entire tone of Calcutta society. "The Settlement," as it was then called, was sharply divided into two parties. The historic quarrel in the Council Chamber of the Indian capital extended to all classes of the community. It daily became more and more virulent and personal until it nearly glided into civil war. Grant found himself in the full blaze of this unseemly contention, with which his sojourn in Calcutta at this time almost exactly synchronised. He arrived there four months

[1] *The Francis Letters*, vol. i. p. 164. London, Hutchinson & Co.

before the *Ashburnham* with her distinguished passengers. He left in the year 1780, which saw the departure of Philip Francis from the shores of India. Grant occupied a comparatively subordinate position, although, for the short time he had been in the Service, he had a good appointment. It brought him into contact with many of the actors in these stirring scenes, and he frequently met them in society. He was at first very intimate with Francis, whom, as a mark of respect, he requested to be sponsor to his third daughter; but subsequently, after a great change had taken place in his own opinions and views, a complete breach occurred in their relations to each other. He entertained a high admiration for Francis's ability and intellectual attainments, and believed that he possessed a more forcible style in official correspondence than any one he had ever known.

He thus wrote to Thomas Raikes on 21st August 1778:—

"Mr Francis, who has uniformly maintained principles opposite to those of Mr Hastings, is a man of great ability, and has hitherto been, in general, in a good cause. His writings are worth your perusal—models in their way. They have a grand simplicity in them. I have sometimes wished for the best example of the style of writing proper for transacting the affairs of this country. If you can help me to any good composition of this sort I shall be obliged to you; but I doubt whether I can meet with anything superior to Mr Francis's productions, which are full of just thought, clear reasoning, happy expression. I employ the few leisure moments which I can take from my different avocations in attending to objects of this nature, and I hope I shall be able to acquire the Persian in order to qualify me for being more useful hereafter, if I should be called to any service."

Grant's first appointment was Secretary to the Board of Trade. This body was created by the Court of

Directors after the passing of the Regulating Act. This appointment placed him in the inner circle of Calcutta society. It was a peculiarly arduous and important position, and it was rendered all the more laborious by the fact that the members of the Board themselves, with the possible exception of the President, did not take an active part in originating and conducting the business entrusted to their charge. In an account of Calcutta written about this time, the author paid the following testimony to the value of Grant's services:—"It would be injustice to the most approved fidelity, to pass over the distinguished abilities and unshaken integrity of the principal Secretary to the Board of Trade. If this gentleman errs in anything, it is in the sternness of his virtue, and the nice scrupulousness of his feelings in matters of right and wrong. The only good that has been performed by that Board has been involuntary on the part of its members, and stands to the sole credit of the Secretary."[1] The warm temper exhibited in the Council penetrated even into the duller duties of the Board of Trade. On one occasion sneers were expressed in the hearing of the Secretary regarding his intimacy with Francis, which very nearly stirred him to send a challenge to one of the members.

The following extract from a letter to James gives an account of the duel which took place between General Clavering and Mr Barwell. It is well known how contemptuously Francis regarded Barwell, and how slightingly he spoke of his behaviour in this affair.[2] The account here given, which was written at the time, gives us a higher idea of Barwell's personal courage. No seconds were present, which was rather extra-

[1] Macintosh's *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in* 1780, vol. ii. p. 134.

[2] *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis*, vol. ii. p. 33. London, Longmans & Co.

ordinary, as General Clavering was a noted stickler for military punctilio.

Charles Grant to his Cousin James.

CALCUTTA, 26*th May* 1775.

About a month ago these two Gentlemen were arguing at the Revenue Board about the propriety of Mr Barwell's holding farms for his own benefit. The General asked, "Well, but, Mr Barwell, how do you hold this act to be consistent with your oath of fidelity to the Company?" Mr Barwell, after some recollection, answered: "Whoever says that I have done anything inconsistent with my oath to the Company is a rascal and a scoundrel." "These are strong terms, Mr Barwell, very strong," replied the General. They were then going to put it to the vote, whether he had not broke his oath, but this, after some discourse, was overruled. The town remained long ignorant of the altercation, and even the Members were not at first in the secret of what followed. In the evening the General sent Mr Barwell a message to meet him next morning. Mr Barwell agreed to the meeting, but desired it might be put off two days until he should settle his affairs. It is said he afterwards asked two days more, finding the first delay not sufficient. The fifth day they met at five in the morning on the new Road to Budge Budge, without seconds. They walked on a good way until they found a convenient place. "What distance do you choose, Sir?" says Mr Barwell. "The nearer the better." They stood within eight yards. "Will you fire, Sir?" said the General. "No, Sir, you will please to fire first." "Is your pistol cock'd, Mr Barwell?" "Yes, Sir." "You will give me leave to look, Sir; I did not hear the drawing of the cock." He advanced, satisfied himself, looked at the priming too, then retired to his stand and fired. The ball passed between Mr Barwell's thighs, grazing the inner part of one. "Fire, Sir," said the General. "No, Sir, you will give me leave to decline that. I came here in obedience to your summons, and think I may now without any imputation to my character declare that I have no

enmity, and that I am sorry for what is past." "Sir, I must insist upon your firing; if you continue to refuse, you will oblige me to fire again." Mr Barwell repeated his reluctance to carry the matter farther, and his desire to end it by accommodation in such manner as should be satisfactory to the General. At length the latter yielded so far, with many conditional clauses, as to consent to accept of an apology before the same persons, and in the same place where the affront had been given, stipulating particularly, that if the apology should not be entirely satisfactory, it should pass for nothing. Upon this they returned; the apology was made in the most ample manner, and the affair thus terminated. You will probably hear many accounts, but you may depend upon the substance of this to be genuine.

We must confess that we feel a little surprise at Grant's friendship with Francis even during the earlier part of his stay in Calcutta. There does not appear, however, to be the slightest shadow of proof of a statement made by an enemy of Francis that he assisted in the preparation of the latter's official minutes in mercantile affairs.[1] Francis's name frequently occurs in the private correspondence of Grant; but there is not the slightest hint to be found in it to corroborate this malicious assertion.

Grant seems to have mainly relied on his interest with Francis for his brother Robert's promotion; but there is nothing to show that he ever obtained any advantage for himself. He was at first drawn towards him more by private friendship than by political alliance. After the notorious case in which Francis had been the principal actor, there was little intercourse between the two former friends. The following account of a painful interview between them after an open rupture had occurred was evidently written by Grant very soon after it had taken place.

[1] *Some Observations on a Publication entitled Travels in Europe, Asia, etc.*, by C. G. Price. London, printed in 1782.

Substance of a Conversation between Mr Francis and Mr Grant, 27th October 1779.

Mr F.—This is a very awkward meeting for us, Sir; after what has passed. I am rather surpris'd to see you. I must own that your conduct towards me has been such as puts it out of my power to say I can be glad to see you, as before; and, however painful such a declaration is, I think it requisite to be quite explicit.

Mr G.—Sir, I am very much obliged to you for being so. I only wish that the cause of your dissatisfaction may be properly understood. From the manner in which you now speak, I suspect it is not, and suspect even that some misrepresentations have been made to you. I have acted according to the dictates of my own mind, and should hope that if my conduct were truly understood by you, it would be approved.

Mr F.—Mr G., this is no common matter. I have been deeply hurt by it. We have been too much united—our connection has been too close to admit of such a breach without a total dissolution. From the time that Mr Livius[1] first brought you to me, and recommended your character and ability, I have maintained the sincerest friendship for you, and a very near intimacy has subsisted. This has been our situation, and at a most critical period you abandoned me to all the torrent of enmity raised against me. To be abandoned by you at the most critical period gave me a deep, and, I fear, an incurable, wound. I speak to you from the quickest feeling. I know the principle you profess, giving full credit to the sincerity of it; still I think you cannot justify your conduct nor can I acquiesce in it. I have not professed to you only, I have professed to every one who knows us, my ardent desire to serve you. Although you have not been served, yet I gave you what I gave to very few—I gave you my heart.

Mr G.—Sir, I can safely say that on my part there has been a real personal attachment, as sincere as that which any of your connections has felt. I have at all times been ready to avow my sentiments of your public

[1] Grant's great friend Livius was deputed to meet Francis and the other Councillors on their arrival. See an amusing account of his going out to meet them in *The Francis Letters*, vol. i. p. 209.

conduct and good qualities. My case is, and has been, singular. Where I stood when I first had the honour to know you, there I stand still. Neither do I mention my not being served as any proof of your want of friendship. I am satisfied your desire was sincere. I give full credit to the intention: your want of opportunity affects not the principle, nor the present question. It is to be regretted that, where such a gift was made and the disposition such on both sides, a misunderstanding should take place. It is obvious that it could be no interest of mine to seek it, the occasion of it has given me real concern. My conduct cannot rationally be accounted for but on the principle of duty. And the consciousness of having acted on this principle I undoubtedly possess.

Mr F.—Supposing your principle to have been such as you profess, which I by no means question, I believe you are sincere in your profession, and that you act up to it, yet I fear, Mr G., you have paid a consideration to the world which it does not deserve, especially the rascally world here, and that even on your own principle you ought to have acted differently. You thought this a favourable opportunity to show the world that you were sincere in your profession, and to its opinion you sacrifice your attachment. You should have had that confidence in the rectitude of your principles as not to have been afraid of the world's opinion, nor have stooped to regard it. Besides the success of paying attention to it is not certain. Hypocrites may do the same thing.

Mr G.—All that I have been doing these two or three years shows the consideration I pay to the world's opinion, shows I have given it up. If I sought or expected anything from the world I might come under suspicion, but I have gone as much as possible out of sight. And in this very case probably most people who know my conduct laugh at it. I can have no respect for the opinion of the world, in such a point particularly—the tendency of its conversation and practice is plainly to that very conclusion which they have so loudly exclaimed against. I acted not a part which I thought unnecessary in order to gain the world's approbation—but to avoid its censure I certainly had in view. We are commanded to avoid the appearance of evil, and not to let our good be

evil spoken of. If at such a juncture I had made no distinction, would they not readily have exclaimed, "Aye, there are his strict principles; we see now how far they carry him"? And I considered not the world only. I considered you yourself, Sir. I thought you might justly have suspected my principles, if I had made no distinction at all in such a case; and I had that opinion of your understanding that I did not despair of your entering into my apprehensions, and of your being even pleas'd that the world should be shewn by this event that our former connection had been pure and honourable—and that you had a person attached to you who acted upon strict principles.

Mr F.—I own I do not enter into this refinement. It may be right, but I do not comprehend it. It is above me. What I feel and must regard is that when a set of villains were united to destroy me, and made use of that matter merely as a handle, when a general torrent ran against me, and everything was done to ruin me, you, whose attachment I valued, and whose principles were so conspicuous, should have totally abandoned me, and that in so striking a manner as to have strengthened the hands of my enemies, and to have furnished them both with matter of argument and triumph. I did not want you to justify or to approve my conduct, but I think your principles should have led you to stand by me at that time. The cause of this country rests upon me. I am the only person who has made a stand, and, if I fail, there will probably never be another effort made. You ought not, therefore, to have seen me run down by villains, who are themselves wholly unprincipled, and made use of that as a pretence only to secure their political purposes—those political purposes you should have opposed.

Mr G.—A time may come, Sir, when removed from the present scene you will apprehend and admit my ideas. I have thoroughly the satisfaction of believing that they are right, and of being conscious that I was actuated by a sincere regard to duty in what I did. I saw not that your whole political situation here was combined with that matter. If I had clearly seen that, I should probably have thought it right to shew that I made a distinction. But I knew they

could not dispossess you, that you depended only on orders from England, which in all probability would arrive long before that matter could get there—I saw, in short, only a popular temporary clamour, and against such a clamour what was to be done? My appearance would have been of no use to that cause, but would have hurt myself. I therefore absented myself for a time. It was the only part that seemed left for me to act. And who was to know, Sir, whether I visited you or not? I used to wait upon you perhaps once a month before; I live quite out of the world — my motions could be little the object of knowledge or regard — I did not go about to declaim on this affair — I spoke but to few persons upon it—and some of them your friends. I should think my conduct could be of little consequence but to myself.

Mr F.—I must beg your pardon; you are a marked man in this Settlement, Mr G., and in several respects much to your honour. Your character and principles might have been, and, I have reason to think, were used on that occasion to injure me—to confirm the condemnation of my conduct.

The principal relation in which the speakers in this conversation are to be considered, is, that the superior has had the unhappiness to commit a public scandalous offence; and that the other, in so many respects his inferior, professed to draw the rule of his conduct from the Gospel, which not only forbids such offences, but all countenance to them. When the affair in question occurred, this person thought it a matter of conscience to forbear visiting the other gentleman. This conversation ensues upon their first meeting afterwards. The nature of the affair constantly alluded to, enjoined reserve upon the speaker.

It is said that many years afterwards, when Francis and Grant were both Members of the House of Commons, the former, after a speech from Grant, of which he had highly approved, crossed over to the seat occupied by him, and offered him his hand.

Grant's letters at this time give side-lights on passing

political events, and represent the impressions then being made on Calcutta Society. It may be interesting to compare them with recent historical accounts of the same events. In a letter to Robert are the following passages, dated 2nd June 1777:—

"Yesterday the General (Clavering) sent to the Governor to demand the keys of the Fort. This demand was laid before the Judges for their opinion. The four have given it as an unanimous opinion that the demand is illegal. To-day I hear the troops in the Fort, or part of them, are under arms, and strict charge given to the Sentinels at the Gate not to suffer General Clavering or any of his family to enter. A company of Grenadiers mount guard at the Governor's, and two sentries are placed at his chamber-door. This is the report I have from town. I have heard no other ground for the demand than an avowal made in conversation by the Governor that he acquiesced in the resignation made for him by his friends. I suspect something at bottom, of which perhaps the Governor himself is not aware. On the other hand, to take an opinion on a point in itself clear, and in which the Judges could not, I believe, give a judicial sentence, is plainly to interest them in favour of that side. The human race are blest with only one principle which can give operation to that sublimely simple precept, Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye to them likewise. This would preserve peace in the breast, and peace in the State."

On 27th June 1777 he wrote, referring to the same important transaction:—

"The General was not only dismiss'd from the command of the Army, but from his Seat in Council. The Judges interpos'd, declaring that Messrs Hastings and Barwell, in their turn, acted illegally. They too receded. The General was restored to his offices, and the Council will go on as usual till the arrival of the Ships. Mr Hastings' friends talk as if he would not now resign, as if this point were entirely optional. I do not believe either proposition. I think the orders will be explicit, and that in any case he will go."

Then on 12th July he wrote :—

"The certainty of Mr Hastings' relinquishment is doubted by some, disputed by others, but in general I fancy the belief of it preponderates. I cannot doubt of it myself, but at what precise time it may be I do not guess. At present, I am told, he acts like a Man who does not reckon upon a long Interest here. He does not feed his own schemes, nor contend about new occurrences, but seems to refer to his Successor. That Gentleman is dignified with the red Ribbon, and already honour'd as the rising Sun. I imagine he and Mr Francis will accord—the motives I shall not enquire about. Mr Wheler's arrival will probably bring the present Dependencies to a point."

A little later Grant had an interview with the Governor-General, and on 5th and 7th September he wrote to his brother, whose interests he wanted to advance, as follows :—

"Thereafter Messrs Hastings and Barwell were thought to be totally routed and displaced, nay, thought themselves so, and saw the period of their power just at hand, their dangers vanish like a dream ; and, in spite of their Defeats and their Enemies, they continue to triumph. Those who depended too much on the opposite party have no resource but in the consideration of the reigning one ; and, for different reasons, I conceive that cannot be expected to be much. At least, it is hardly to be hoped that the instances will be many in which they will at all sacrifice the interest of their own friends in favour of those who have not been reckon'd such. This brings us to your case." "I waited this morning upon Mr Hastings. I cannot boast of the honour of any distinguished reception. It was, on the contrary, cold and disregardful enough, a circumstance which I had not expected. I mentioned the business of my visit concisely, was heard without the appearance of complacency, and told, 'It was very true ; your situation had not been consider'd when I attended before. . . . That the point must be considered soon, and an immediate answer could not be given.' Observing that hardly one line of countenance made any motion of civility to me, I

concluded my visit, and, I may say, my hope of this business together. Walking home to my office, I met Mr Barwell, going into the Council House. He has always treated me with an appearance of regard, tho' it is long since I have ceas'd to go to him. I informed him of the business I had been upon. The same Motives which Mr Hastings professed to me before are, I understand, recogniz'd by him, and he talked to me in that strain. He said that he had observed to Mr Hastings the other day that you would be cut out; and, upon my mentioning the issue of my application, he asked whether you had done anything to give offence. I replied, I conceived not—that you did not even exercise the functions of your Offices, and Mr Middleton[1] had, upon his going up, professed friendship to you, and written in your favour to Mr Hastings. 'Offices!' (dropt while I was speaking); 'his function is to sit quiet and take his Salary!' 'As to Middleton, he is so good-natured a fellow, that, even if he had received offence, he would not have complained of it.' I assur'd him that offence could not be given any other way, for that you did not carry on any correspondence; that altho' you had been appointed by another party, you had never acted in this way, and even your Letters to me were more delicate in respect to persons and things than could perhaps be imagin'd. This seemed to give Satisfaction. 'Then,' says he, 'Hastings has people about him that tell Lies. I had an instance of it,' which he related. He went away to appearance with an intention to move in the affair as far as He could, but under doubts of obviating the prejudices which had been taken. Mr Francis, whom I met immediately after parting with Mr Barwell, concurr'd in this opinion."

There was evidently, from Mr Francis's diary, a sharp dispute in Council about affairs in Oude on the following day, in which Robert Grant's position was no doubt incidentally mentioned.[2]

On 2nd March 1778 this passage occurs in a letter from Grant to his brother:—

"Mr Hastings was, it seems, censured for the acts of

[1] Then Resident at Lucknow.

[2] *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis*, vol. ii. p. 95.

his Majority. However, it was after all a doubt whether his resignation would take place. The news of the General's death may probably hasten a crisis. But, at any rate, it would appear from Mr Barwell's letter, that the Company's Affairs were going into Parliament the ensuing Session, so that they may be now discussing them. Some hostilities were meditating against the Supreme Court of Judicature, but of this you need take no note at present. The transactions of the Court have occasion'd much bustle at home, of which it would seem that the influence of the Nabob of Arcot is the moving cause. Hastings found means to extend a concern for his interests a great way; but after the utmost efforts of his friends, who have taken great pains to gloss his Cause, Tanjore is still kept out of his possession. So far Truth has prevail'd."

The following anecdote about Colonel Monson is pleasing:—

"I was most agreeably surpriz'd," Grant wrote on 17th June 1778, "to receive the other day from a very respectable Authority this story of the late Colonel Monson. A gentleman was usher'd into his chamber without being announced. He discovered him alone, his head resting on one hand in front of an open Bible, and tears falling down his manly face. The gentleman, confounded, made a hasty apology, and was retiring. 'O come in, Sir,' said the Colonel; 'Sit down, Sir. I am not ashamed of that Book.'"

It is evident from Grant's correspondence during his residence at Calcutta throughout this eventful period that he generally disapproved of Warren Hastings' administration; but it is to be regretted that he did not mention the points on which he differed from that able and eminent statesman, and that he did not give the reasons for his disapproval. This reticence was principally due to the subordinate position in the Service which he then occupied. His remarks on current affairs in his letters to his brother and his cousin James were confined to mere statements of facts without comments on them.

For instance, the following is an extract from a letter to the latter, who was then in England, dated 25th November 1775:—

"The state of public affairs here remain much the same—an eternal opposition, which continues equally strong, though less active than it was. They have exhausted many subjects, and think that what has already passed will determine the fate of the parties, so are tacitly content to sacrifice a little animosity for the sake of quiet, of which, indeed, they have hardly before tasted. The Supreme Court and the majority of the Council do still continue in action, and give no quarter. Some doctrines promulgated by the former must be very distasteful to the Company, such as that there is no Country Government, and that the under-farmers are the responsible persons, not the head farmers, etc. The influence of the Court is wonderful. No one can dispute the powers it may assume, and, in short, it seems to me at present to be only another mode of absolute Government. However, as it is 'best administered, it must be best.' With any political anecdotes of a private nature I shall not trouble you, as I do not know through what hands my letters may pass."

With regard to his general disapproval of the administration of Warren Hastings, Grant expressed himself very clearly at a meeting of the Court of Proprietors on 14th October 1795, a little more than a year after he had entered the Direction. The following passage from his speech on this occasion shows not only his views on this subject, but the extreme reticence which he had observed upon them, so that even his most intimate friends were unacquainted with the reasons which had induced him to adopt them.

"He understood," he said, "it had been thought by some that, when he had opposed the grants to Mr Hastings, he should have assigned his reasons. To do this fully would have led him into a very wide field, and into the consideration of many important subjects to which he did not feel himself able to do sufficient justice;

nor did he conceive this to be necessary, because the case of Mr Hastings was not now a new case—it had long been before the public—most men had made up their minds upon it—and he, viewing the first Resolutions as a call for certain donations to Mr Hastings, thought himself at liberty expressly to refuse his assent to such donations without explaining the reasons which might in his mind render the concession of them improper. It was fit to add, too, that he had no personal enmity to Mr Hastings. In the few instances in which he had occasion to transact with him in the course of his service abroad, he had been treated by him with liberality. He hoped also he knew how to appreciate what he should take the liberty to call the better parts of Mr Hastings' character. Neither did he act from party motives of any kind. He had no share in bringing forward or carrying on the prosecution either in India or in England. He had made his sentiments respecting Mr Hastings so little the subject of conversation that he believed his declaration in a former Court had surprised some of his acquaintances. Had he been only a private Proprietor, he would have chosen to avoid taking any part in this business; but, having the honour of being invested with the character of a Director, he thought that he was thereby charged with a general care for the interests of the Company, and that, thus situated, a cause in which he had never sought to interfere had at length come to him, and forced him to speak. So called upon, he had no alternative but to refuse his consent to the acts proposed in favour of Mr Hastings, because these grants went to give a sanction of Mr Hastings, to which he was very far from being able honestly to say that he thought him entitled. He thought indeed quite otherwise; and most of all objected to such a sanction because it might operate hereafter in the minds of other servants of the Company; and it would certainly, if accorded, descend to posterity, reflecting, as he conceived, a false light on the character of the administration in question."

Calcutta society was then thoroughly corrupt. The moral atmosphere was bad. There was scarcely a man to set an example even of decent living. The two Chaplains seem to have been eaten up with covet-

ousness. Charles Grant threw himself heart and soul into the dissipation and amusements of the time and place. Gambling was one of the principal vices, and it appears from the *Memoirs* of Francis that the stakes were usually very high.[1] It is difficult to understand why Grant plunged into this amusement. There was really nothing in his circumstances which would lead him to enter it in order to drown other and greater miseries. He was in a good and affluent position; he was happily married, and not a cloud appeared to chequer his life in this respect; his domestic felicity was complete; he had many genuine friends, who were a comfort and a solace to him and his family. But the fact remains, that he lived at this time beyond his means, and that, when he was brought steadily to examine his pecuniary position, he found himself deeply in debt, and this principally through liabilities by gambling. There could be no reasonable cause for this, except the mere love of excitement, and being carried away by the momentary influence of the surroundings of the gaming-table. He was during this period immersed in business in the day-time; and, out of office hours, he launched out into extravagance and ostentatious show. There was not, however, even a shadow cast over his moral character, or over the integrity of his business relations, although breaches of both were too characteristic of Calcutta society at that period. It was, indeed, a dark time in the Indian capital. It was also a dark time in Charles Grant's life. Happily, in his case, it scarcely lasted two years.

It has been stated that John had joined the family circle. He had entered heartily into the gaiety of Calcutta,

[1] *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis*, by Parkes and Merivale, vol. ii. p. 68. London, Longmans & Co., 1867. See for an account of card-playing, which his brother-in-law called "business," *The Francis Letters*, vol. i. p. 259.

and had also made every effort in his power to obtain suitable employment. His brother Charles was trying hard to get him an appointment at Balasore, and another of the same nature for their friend James Russell, so that they might "establish a joint trade between them." He was a very promising and engaging youth, and all the family at Calcutta were deeply attached to him. His friends in England were, however, very apprehensive that his constitution would not be strong enough to stand the climate of Bengal. His uncle in particular used to indulge in melancholy forebodings, saying, in his quaint way, he "feared John would never comb a grey head." These anticipations were only too well founded. He died on 10th June 1775 of a severe fever at Injili, where he had been attending his friend Russell, who also succumbed to the same disease. He had scarcely been eight months in India. Both his brothers felt this affliction very keenly.

During the time that John was taken ill and died, one of the most remarkable trials that ever took place in British India was going on. In a note from Mrs Fraser to Robert telling him of his brother's illness she says, "All the world has gone to the Court House to hear the trial of Nuncomar" (the Maharaja Nandikūmar). Charles Grant was a member of the Grand Jury which found a true bill against Nuncomar, and with his fellow-jurymen he signed an address to Sir Elijah Impey, acknowledging the consideration of the Court, and expressing their sense of the ability, candour, and moderation he had shown in his high position as Chief Justice.[1]

It appears from the correspondence between the two surviving brothers that there had been a serious

[1] The names of the Grand Jury occur in *A Narrative of Facts Leading to the Trial, etc.* (p. 9), by a Gentleman resident in Calcutta. London, Bew. 1776.

difference between them, which this heavy sorrow was the means of dissipating. It was caused by the strong attachment which Robert had entertained for Mrs Grant's sister, Miss Charity Fraser, and which Charles would not consent to encourage. A month or so after John's death, they received the intelligence that John Grant, "the good uncle," as they still delighted to call him, was no more. He had died at Cromarty on 18th November 1774.

Grant felt these two blows most keenly. He endeavoured to alleviate his sorrow by increased attention to his official duties, and, after a time, by a return to the gaiety and dissipation of social life. Graver ideas did indeed find entrance into his mind, but they affected his intellect rather than his heart. He stated afterwards that the first religious book which he had read after his brother's death was Butler's *Analogy of Religion*. It was not long, however, before his heart was stricken with a still more poignant sorrow, when the realities both of this world and the next were forced on his consideration, and all darkness and doubt were completely and finally dispelled.

CHAPTER IV

CONVERSION

A.D. 1776

Domestic felicity—Letter from Robert to May—Death of both Grant's children by small-pox—His amazement and despair—Letters to Robert—Change of residence—Excursion to Chinsura—Intercourse with Mr Diemer—Correspondence with his wife—Comfort and consolation obtained—True conversion—Return to Calcutta—Friendship with Mr Shore—Marriage of William Chambers and Mrs Grant's sister—Grant's financial difficulty—Great generosity of his brother Robert—Grant's anxiety for his brother's spiritual welfare—Illness and conversion — Death of Robert—Robert's integrity in money matters—Restitution to Government—Retired life in Calcutta—Grant appointed Commercial Resident at Malda.

In the month of March 1776 Mr and Mrs Grant had two daughters who were the joy of their lives. Elizabeth, the elder, was nearly two years of age; Margaret, the younger, was about ten months old. They were peculiarly lovely and engaging children, and the whole family was wrapped up in them. Going back a few months, we quote part of a letter written by Robert to his sister May before the birth of the younger child.

Robert Grant to his Sister Margaret.

CALCUTTA, 11*th December* 1774.

I think our Brother one of the happiest of men. His Wife possesses a most attracting, lovely Countenance and great Elegance of person. She is an exceeding

good judge of Musick, plays remarkably well on the Harpsichord, and dances with the utmost Grace. These are but a few of her personal Accomplishments. Her mind is still more perfect. She has much good Sense and Judgement, a constant Chearfulness, and a most happy, seducing Diffidence which heightens the Lustre of her other amiable Qualities. . . . I think her sister very handsome, very accomplished, and very good. Thus fitted to enjoy Happiness, it were a thousand Pities if she did not attain it, and no one of her Friends can, I am sure, wish it to her with more sincerity and disinterestedness than I do. You will learn from this faint Sketch of the Excellencies of these Ladies that our Brother's Family is a happy one. They have a little Girl called Eliza—a sweet Child, very like both her Father and Mother. This is a darling, more especially with Mrs Fraser, whose whole Mind and Time is engaged in attending her.

In a few months all this gaiety and light-heartedness disappeared. Both children were attacked with small-pox, and died within nine days of each other. The happy home was left desolate and the parents childless. Charles Grant's sensitive nature completely gave way under this double affliction. He was brought face to face with his former self. After a prolonged and severe conflict, he eventually found true consolation, happiness, and peace in Christ. His whole life was changed. At first he was under the impression that God had brought this heavy trial on them as a punishment for his past careless and ungodly life. As we read his letters, we witness the struggle of a strong soul convinced of sin, yet ignorant of the Gospel of God's love to sinful man. We listen to the groans of a sorely wounded spirit, which at first refused to be comforted ; but which afterwards entered into a state of rest and joy, which extended to his family, and was the means of incalculable benefit to the whole Church of God. His wife attained this great happiness before him, and was the instrument employed by the Holy Spirit in gently

guiding him into the sheltered harbour of assured faith and chastened peace.

The following is the communication to his brother of the death of the elder child.

Charles Grant to Robert Grant.

CALCUTTA, 21*st April* 1776.

I did not communicate to you that Eliza was seized with the small-pox, hoping to save you from unavailing anxiety and grief. As it is, I have only withheld them to let them fall the heavier. Nothing that I intend succeeds, nothing happens to me but misfortune. Here is another heart-string broken; my family is humbled to the dust, and covered with desolation. The fondest mother filled with speechless anguish, the grandmother and aunt unceasing in their lamentations, the domestics mournful, and every object bringing sad remembrance. I stand in this scene, a spectacle of horror and woe—divided between my affliction for what I have lost, and my apprehension for those who remain; by terror and despair for those strokes which have befallen me, and those to which I am yet exposed, and to which an unhappy fate seems to doom me.

Hitherto I have been passing through life with sufficient pride and obstinacy. In the eager pursuit of one object, I have not contented myself with overlooking difficulties, but I have felt my mind defenceless in the most important points. I have not considered that, in my struggles for advancement and independence, I might lose that which alone could give them value. It is time to take a new view and form a new estimate of life. "Surely pride was not made for man." I am sick of it, and wish I may always continue so. Moderate wishes, moderate passions, and a submissive frame of mind, are the only palliative of the unavoidable ills to which human nature is subjected. Would that I could now retire with just a competence, to some healthy situation, there to enjoy undisturbed the society of my family, and fix my mind in a right frame. But how vain is this wish! I see no end to my toils in this

climate, and hitherto little hope from them. I think our family is not fated to be prosperous. They have struggled very long, but every attempt to rise has only ended in a heavier fall. My mind is torn by different thoughts. I wish to give myself up to sorrow for the dead; the state of the living alarms me. I wish to abstract myself from ordinary pursuits; necessity forces me to continue them. Every way I am agitated by distressing circumstances. You will think this description wholly excited by my present feelings. It is not created by them. All except the afflicting occurrence which is the subject of this letter suits the ordinary state of my mind.

Charles Grant to Robert Grant.

CHITPORE, 29*th April* 1776.

The affliction under which I last wrote you was light in comparison to that which I have now to bear. It has pleased God to take away my other child, my lovely Margaret, dear to my eyes and my soul. A fever and the small-pox attacked her at the same time, and yesterday I laid her by her sister. In nine days I have seen them both snatched away. I have seen myself childless, my house rendered desolate, and every pursuit, every object, which before gave me happiness, converted into misery. The power of complaining is taken away, for where can I find words to express the sorrow, the amazement, the horror, which this wonderful change produces? I attempt not to complain. I am thoroughly penetrated with grief too mighty for utterance.

I cannot believe that these things happen by accident, and I fear that I am singled out as an object of the just displeasure of God who has sorely wounded me in the tenderest parts. These dispensations have brought me to consider of the great ends of my nature, of the shortness of this life, of the vicissitudes with which it abounds, and of that conduct and frame of mind which ought to be maintain'd in it. Reflections upon these subjects, and upon my present Losses divide my thoughts; and humbling as they are, I hope to derive advantage from them. I conceive that I ought to understand these Losses as meant for this

end; as punishments and warnings. They give that turn to the mind which it is highly reproachful as well as dangerous not always to preserve. As no Man doubts God's natural Government of the world, I see not why His moral Government should be doubted; by both we are directed to be submissive to His general Laws, and the Laws of the Nature which He has given us. Had my mind been habitually preserved in this state, no event would have given me the pain or the terror which those I have now experienc'd have done. God grant that they may serve for my improvement, and that the sources of pleasure and happiness of which I am depriv'd may open others of a more lasting and exalted kind. Indeed, after the affections meet with such a shock of disappointment as mine have done, I think nothing in this world can interest them a second time in the same degree. There wants not much to render Life insupportable to me—unless the thoughts of another, and of the means of being happy in it shall firmly possess my mind. . . . It is with arguments drawn from nature and religion that I have endeavoured to support the minds of the mother, grandmother, and aunt at this sad juncture. Heavy has been my task, to offer comfort where I felt so little, and where it was so difficult to be received. The anxiety and fatigue which they have undergone during the last three weeks, the woe with which they are now overwhelmed, are not to be described. The mother is still lost in astonishment and despair. Sleeping or awake, her children occupy her thoughts, and sometimes, believing herself possest by a frightful dream, she looks for them. She is seized again with all the bitterness of sorrow; and, like Rachel, "will not be comforted, because they are not." Such is, I fear, the true state of her mind, though to appearance she supports herself admirably, and even endeavours to comfort me; but inadvertently she falls often into the stare of silent sorrow, and the tears steal down her cheeks. Oh, my dear Bob, it is hardly possible to conceive what variety of the most melting, pitiable distress I have seen and experienc'd during this calamitous period! But as it is, you will feel too much of it, and I wish I had said nothing to aggravate your concern. Endeavour to make the use of these dispensations, which it is my aim to do.

Charles Grant to Robert Grant.

18th May 1776.

Pitiable are the scenes of meek and hopeless sorrow, of which I am frequently rather more than a witness. We are like persons that have been overwhelmed by a sudden inundation. We look up at length, and find the face of Nature changed, and ourselves naked and forlorn. We have hardly a feeling or an idea which has not undergone some change.

The day after Margaret's death the family removed for retirement and rest to Chitpore, a northern suburb of Calcutta. After a sojourn there lasting about four months, they returned to their former place of residence on 19th August, his unselfish wife hoping that this would be better for him, as he would there have more society and less inconvenience. This move was not successful, however, and they returned to Chitpore in about a fortnight. Calcutta society now possessed no charm for his distracted mind. His brother had endeavoured to point out to him the probability of regaining tranquillity of mind, and remonstrated with him on his excessive grief. He replied in the following manner:—

Charles Grant to Robert Grant.

CALCUTTA, *11th July* 1776.

All the consolation that friendship and affection could give me I have received from your letter of the 24th ult. With such a brother and such a wife as I yet possess, I ought not to reckon myself poor; but alas! the consciousness of not deserving them, and of having brought my sufferings upon myself, of being visited by the displeasure of God, in the loss of my children, and the unprosperousness of all my affairs, sinks me out of the sight of all enjoyment. I will not open farther to you the state of my mind—it is the habitation of horror—horror from which I cannot free

myself by heartily embracing those truths in which only consolation is to be found. My dear Bob, as you value that first of all blessings, peace of mind, never act, as I have done, wilfully in opposition to reason and the suggestions of conscience. Nobody, perhaps, has had clearer feelings than myself of what was right, nobody has taken more pains to destroy them; and, now that judgments awaken me, I am no longer possessed of the will or the power to repent truly of the past, or to resolve heartily for the future. You speak of my abilities, and of misfortunes from which no prudence could guard. You suppress all mention of my unpardonable loss by play, of my vanity, extravagance, and pride. Abilities! I have cheated myself and others with the appearance of them. That solidity and prudence of conduct which are the only test of real judgment, I have always wanted. My mind is light and unbalanced, apt to be moved by trifles, impatient of the government of reason, possessed of no true reflection or fortitude; hoping everything from the future, neglecting everything present, except the gratification of its ruinous propensities.

Robert returned, however, to the subject in the following letter:—

Robert Grant to his Brother Charles.

FYZABAD, 24*th July* 1776.

What shall I say, my dear Charles, to your invectives against yourself? They amaze me. You have lived some time above your circumstances in a place where it is impossible that you and your family should remain undistinguished. You have had bad luck at play. Where is the guilt in all this, that you should conceive yourself an object of Divine displeasure? As to the former, I confess I cannot bring myself to feel regret for it. I lament the occasion for a more strict economy, and I hope I need not make protestations against departing from the appearance, the dignity, with which you have hitherto lived. I should be hurt beyond measure at any change which should bring discomfort on your family. As to the latter, I think it vain to present to you those

arguments which in my opinion leave it not a subject of such deep remorse. They doubtless have occurred in your own mind, and I am grieved that it is not more strengthened by them. Your circumstances are by no means irretrievable, and your character is of remarkable purity. I conjure you then do not hurt either by despondency. Do not in this single instance act unjustly towards your connections.

His brother's letters still continued in a desponding, and even in a despairing, strain. We produce a portion of one of them.

Charles Grant to Robert Grant.

CHITPORE, *8th August* 1776.

I have received yours of the 24th ult. I should be glad to see you; I have wish'd frequently for your company, though perhaps it may be better for me to remain long as solitary as I am at present. "My invectives," as you call them, were exceedingly well founded. You are partial to me, as well as ignorant of my real merits. I know myself so well as not yet to be able to seek for pardon where alone it can be found. In attempting to bring my mind to this task, I see more than ever the dreadful deformity and apostacy of it. You speak of deprecation, my dear Bob. Assure yourself there is but one condition on which it is to be made—that which the Gospel points out, and only one means of securing it, that of living afterwards unblamably by the rules of the same Gospel.

I would propose to you in the most earnest manner one simple rule. Set apart one half-hour every morning to read religious books, or to meditate on one of these four things,—Death, Judgement, Heaven, and Hell. If you knew the awful importance of such meditation, nothing would hinder you from it. Try it for one month without intermission, on any pretence whatever, and see whether you can leave it off afterwards.

In the month of October 1776, Grant made an excursion to Chinsura, a town belonging to the Dutch, on the

right bank of the Ganges, a few miles above Calcutta. He went partly on business, and partly for intercourse with the Rev. J. C. Diemer, a missionary connected with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He stayed there about ten days seeking instruction and consolation. Meanwhile, his young wife wrote to him frequently, endeavouring to cheer him, and to charm him out of his despair, and gently leading him to place his full trust and reliance on the only One who can effectually forgive and console the penitent sinner.

"You say," she wrote, "that you feel most sensibly the misery of being subjected to habits of sin, and exposed to punishment and the accusations of conscience, and wish for that happiness which must certainly be possessed by those who are in the contrary state. Now, is not this the sinner whom our blessed Saviour invites to come unto Him with promises of lightening his burden and giving him rest? I think it is. This seems to me to be your case; therefore you have nothing to do but to accept of this compassionate and comforting invitation, to go unto Him with your whole heart, and to beg His assistance and intercession, that you may partake of that blessed inheritance which He has purchased by His death, and with His own precious blood, for all penitent and believing sinners."

This gentle comforter was successful, and from this time Charles Grant became a sincere believer and a consistent Christian. He naturally shrank from returning to Calcutta and resuming his work. But duty led him thither, and he found some staunch Christian friends there, who were a great help to him in his new life. They were clear lights shining amidst the surrounding darkness. One of these was John Shore, of his own Service, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, who was then at the beginning of his own Christian career. At Grant's request, he had lent him, in the time of his sore trouble, certain books fitted to afford him spiritual instruction

and consolation.[1] This was the foundation of a life-long friendship. Another friend was William Chambers, brother of one of the Judges recently appointed to the Supreme Court of Bengal, and the intimate friend of Christian Frederick Schwartz, the distinguished missionary in South India. Chambers originally belonged to the Madras Civil Service; but in 1775 he joined his brother at Calcutta, where he became Interpreter in the Supreme Court. This friendship led to his marriage with Miss Charity Fraser.

William Chambers was both a pious and a learned man. He was an excellent Persian scholar, and translated portions of St Matthew's Gospel into that language. He was of great service to Grant in all his plans of usefulness in Malda and Calcutta. Grant's opinion of him at this time is expressed in the following terms:—

Charles Grant to his Brother.

CALCUTTA, 23*rd December* 1776.

I have met with one such character here—a man whom religion animates and directs. He is the happiest in his temper, the purest and most dignified in his mind, of any with whom I ever had intimacy. His moral and intellectual faculties flourish. He has subdued the dominion of vice. He loves religion; and his soul, freed from all debasing passions and aims, goes out, with wonderful elasticity, upon what is good and laudable. I wish you were near him. It would improve you to observe him, and even his human attainments would convince you of the superior force of a mind freed from its shackles. Besides acquiring in this country the Greek and Latin so as to use them daily, he has studied no less than six or seven Eastern languages, and speaks the Persian with the same ease and fluency as he does English. This man's name conveys not his merit to all ears—how should it to the idle and the profane? It is William Chambers.

[1] *Life of Lord Teignmouth*, by his Son, vol. i. p. 111. London, 1843.

When this great change in Grant's life occurred, his financial affairs had fallen into the most deplorable condition. Not only was he in debt to a considerable extent owing to play and to the extravagance of his mode of living; but the commercial concerns in which he had been lawfully engaged had proved singularly unsuccessful. In a letter to his brother dated 27th May 1778, he informed him that his liabilities amounted to nearly two lakhs of rupees, or £20,000, besides a large sum due as interest. This weighed heavily on his awakened conscience, and helped to increase the depression which his severe trials had occasioned. He fully opened his heart to his brother, from whom he received the truest sympathy and the most generous assistance. Robert, who by this time had attained a position of some influence in the employment of the Nawab of Oude, at once offered him all that he had saved, only insisting on the condition of the capital being legally settled on Mrs Grant and on any children she might subsequently have. He regarded this act of generosity as just what ought naturally to take place between brothers, and he would scarcely listen to a word of thanks.

The change in Charles Grant's religious views compelled him to seek the spiritual welfare of this beloved brother. The desire for the salvation of his soul took complete possession of his own heart, and almost every letter contained the most earnest exhortations with this object in view. Every now and then Mrs Grant, to whom Robert was devotedly attached, added her own gentle and tender pleading. It appears, moreover, that they both had a presentiment that his life would not long be spared.

Robert Grant deeply felt his brother's remonstrances, and it seems very clear that his conscience was touched. There were times during which he was led to serious reflection, when illness prostrated him or the death of his comrades appalled him. In January 1779 he

became very ill; and in April he was compelled to leave Lucknow for Chittagong to obtain the benefit of sea-air. An affecting memorial of him has been preserved in the form of a paper describing his spiritual condition during the years between the death of his brother John to the time of his own dangerous illness. He relates the ebb and flow of the spiritual struggle which had sorely agitated him, and records the self-examination with which he had questioned his heart. It also contains a prayer, in which, probably in the month before his death, he poured forth his sense of sin and his yearning for salvation. Charles hastened to Chittagong to see him, and must have had several conversations with him. A few weeks later, on 26th October 1779, he died a penitent believer in Christ.

Robert was as careful and conscientious in money matters as his brother was, and generous almost to a fault. It may be stated, as a proof of his uprightness in this respect, that he left directions in his will for Rs. 9000 to be paid to the Company by way of restitution for a sum which he thought had not been properly acquired. "I will this," he said, "on a principle of conscience, and not from weakness of body, for I am at this time (April 1779) without any material complaint."

During the latter part of their residence at Calcutta Mr and Mrs Grant lived in a retired and economical manner, very different from their previous extravagant style. His finances were gradually righting themselves, though they did not become quite straight for several years. Notwithstanding the prevailing practice, whereby even men high in the Service rapidly made large fortunes by illicit means, he never yielded to the temptation to descend to such unworthy devices; and, in after years, he could truthfully inform the Government of Bengal, when certain rumours against him

were in circulation, that he had kept himself clear even from the very appearance of dishonesty.

"I received," he wrote, "nothing from my station but the public allowances thereof, which were not sufficient for the maintenance of my family. I saw no fair prospect of retrieving my affairs or making a provision for my family; but I determined against dishonest gain, and I made conscience of discharging the duty of my office, and promoting the interest of my employers, as far as lay in my sphere, by a diligent and attentive transaction of their business."

On 6th December 1780 Charles Grant was appointed Commercial Resident at Malda. This appointment was in the gift of the members of the Board of Trade themselves. The terms of the Resolution in which it was conferred were most complimentary to their Secretary, and they fully recognised the zeal and ability with which he had performed the onerous duties of his office.

This Resolution ran as follows:—

"The Board agree to Mr Grant's claim, because his conduct in the post of Secretary entitles him to their favour and indulgence, it having been in every respect highly satisfactory, and, at the same time, they cannot help expressing their reluctance at losing a person who has so long afforded them the most able assistance."

The President of the Board, in forwarding this Resolution to Grant, wrote him a kindly note, saying that he had it much at heart to do him the justice from the Board which he so fully merited. By the end of December Mr and Mrs Grant quitted the city where they had experienced such marvellous vicissitudes of sorrow and of joy. Before they left Calcutta another daughter and two sons were born. The daughter, Maria, was born on 1st December 1776, and lived for many years to be a comfort to both her parents. Charles was born at Kidderpore on 26th October

1778, and Robert at the same place on 15th January 1780. The family circle had been reduced by the death of Mrs Fraser, just as she was commencing her voyage to England, whither she was going for the sake of her health, and by the happy marriage of her younger daughter to William Chambers.

CHAPTER V

UP-COUNTRY LIFE IN BENGAL

A.D. 1780 TO 1787

Stay in Malda the happiest time in Grant's life—Description of the Malda district—Cloth and silk manufactures—The Resident's house—Grant's domestic circle—His steward, John Obeck—The "Old Pilgrim"—The "little family"—Prayer on arrival—Failure of Mrs Grant's health—Visit to Calcutta—Narrow escape from drowning—Return to Malda—Desolating drought—Relief in financial matters—Death of his sister Catherine, Mrs Sprott—Complete extrication from debt—Marriage of May to the Rev. Roderick Mackenzie—Visit from Sir William Jones—Grant's severe illness—Visit to Calcutta about his contract—Appointment of Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General—Arrival in Calcutta—Strict inquiry into the condition of the Civil Service—Request for the Malda accounts to be sent to Government—Summons from Lord Cornwallis to Calcutta—The Governor-General's view of affairs—Grant's description of his character—Grant troubled in mind about his contract—Appointed Fourth Member of the Board of Trade—George Udny succeeds him at Malda—Correspondence with Mrs Grant while at Calcutta—Regret at leaving Malda.

THEIR six years' residence at Malda was the happiest time in Mr and Mrs Grant's lives. His appointment as Commercial Resident gave him abundance of employment; but it was very different from anything in which Indian Civilians of the present day are engaged. It was entirely mercantile, and consisted in looking after the interests of the East India Company in their investments, and in superintending the manufacture of cloth and silk for this purpose. His head-quarters were

at English Bazar, about three miles south of the town of Malda, on the opposite bank of the river. He had several assistants under him, the principal of whom was George Udny, who soon became a most valued friend.

Malda had, for many generations, been noted for its silk manufactures. There was an English factory there so far back as 1686, and it was then stimulated by French enterprise. Although the trade in silk-weaving has declined, silk-winding is still in a flourishing condition. The value of this, added to the value of exported cocoons, is still considerable, and it helps to enrich the rearers of mulberry trees and silk-worms, who are reported to be in flourishing circumstances.[1] A peculiar cloth known as *maldahi* has long been a specialty of external commerce. The trade was apparently much greater in the last quarter of the eighteenth century than it is now, and it was one of the best in Bengal for providing material for the Company's investments. At that time the revenue divisions were very much the same as they had been during the Mohammedan Government; but, in the year 1813, Malda was created a separate district, and it remains so to the present day. The country to the west is low, but to the east it is wilder and more hilly. The most fertile part of the district is in the valley of the river Mahānanda, which flows through the centre of it from north to south. Groves of mango trees and high-raised plots of mulberry plantations fringe both banks of the river. The mangoes grown there are the choicest in the province of Bengal.

The house in which Grant resided, together with the outhouses, was fortified so that it might be defended in case of incursion from the Mahrattas or other enemies, or in the event of any local disturbance. The buildings still remain, and are used as public offices and as the

[1] Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. iv. p. 245.

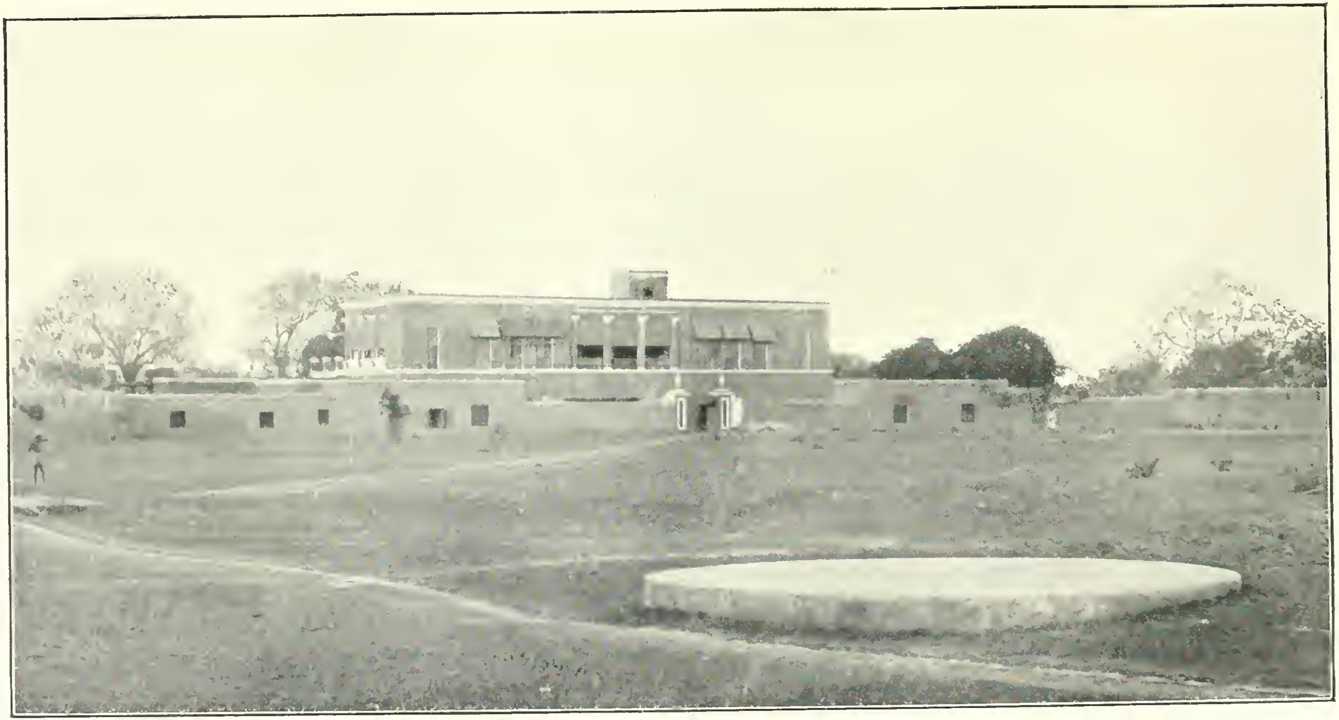
residence of the Collector, who is the chief authority in the district at the present day. The rooms were large and lofty, and a cool and shady verandah extended along the length of the building, where the children had plenty of room to play without being exposed to the sun or the glare. The outhouses were large, and there was a good garden in which a tasteful summer-house had been erected. There was no lack of guests. Mr and Mrs Chambers frequently came to pay their relatives a visit, and friends often came to stay with them, on their way to behold the celebrated ruins of ancient capitals in the neighbourhood.

The family consisted of Grant and his wife and children, around whom the usual troop of Indian attendants gathered. Their steward was John Obeck, a friend and disciple of Schwartz, who always wrote of him with mingled respect and affection.

> "I have enclosed," wrote Schwartz on 20th July 1785 to Grant, "a few lines to my old and sincere friend Mr Obeck. He lived once in one of my chambers. I loved him much, and shall love him until we see one another in a world free from sin and grief."[1]

He was a German by birth, and had married a Portuguese wife. He was of humble extraction, and his manners were rather uncouth; but he was so excellent, simple, and affectionate, and such a true-hearted Christian, that Grant and his family were much attached to him. He was familiarly called "the Old Pilgrim." He was frequently taken into their confidence in matters of importance. He was tolerably skilled in medicine; and, in the absence of a resident doctor, he was regarded as the family physician. He appears to have treated Grant himself most judiciously in a serious attack of dysentery. Grant always called

[1] *Life of Schwartz*, by Dean Pearson, vol. ii. p. 11. Hatchards, 2nd edition, 1839.



THE HOUSE OCCUPIED BY CHARLES GRANT AT MALDA IN BENGAL.

[*To face p.* 72.

his assistants members of "his family," which he took pleasure in styling them in his journal and letters.

The spirit in which he entered on his new duties and on his family life at Malda will be seen from the following prayer, which he wrote on his arrival.

Prayer on arriving at Malda.

Most Merciful and Gracious God, who hast in the whole course of our lives not only with wondrous long-suffering borne with us, but also continually distinguished us by thy overruling providence, and who hast now vouchsafed a signal instance of it in bringing us to this place, we desire humbly to prostrate ourselves before thee in thankfulness for this thy great goodness unto us. We acknowledge our utter unworthiness of it. We entreat thy grace to be grateful for it; to receive it as thy pure mercy in Christ Jesus, and to use it to the ends for which it was bestowed, not taking up with the gift and forgetting the Giver. O God, be thou pleased to enable us to serve thee in this new situation. Be thou our ruler and protector.

Give us grace to follow the Lord fully; to discharge all the duties which are laid upon us, and to act in all as thy people obedient to thy will, ever remembering the transitory nature of this world and all its possessions and enjoyments, not entangling our affections with them; but, through all circumstances, prosperous or adverse, pleasing or afflicting, looking forward, and using all diligence to obtain that permanent rest, that solid, unchanging felicity, that inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and unfading, which the Lord bestows on all those who approve themselves here faithful unto death. All these petitions we present in His most holy name. Amen.

Charles Grant led a life of considerable activity and usefulness at Malda. He was, in fact, the head of a large district, and all matters connected with trade and the Company's investments were under his superintendence. He was busily engaged in making advances to the weavers, in settling their disputes, and in supervising

the manufacture of cloth and silk. His public duties were more immediately concerned with the former, although he privately engaged in the purchase of the latter, especially for his old friend and benefactor, Becher. During the latter part of his stay at Malda he possessed a large share in an indigo factory at Gumalti, a village situated amidst the ruins of Gaur, one of the ancient capitals of Bengal. An excellent account of his position and employment is contained in a letter to Thomas Raikes, dated 7th December 1782.

Charles Grant to Thomas Raikes.

MALDA, *7th January* 1782.

Here, as to the company, we are quite retired: besides our own family there is not a European nearer to us than fifty miles. As to business, I find abundantly enough—more, indeed, than I can manage without constant and even laborious application; and I am happy that it is of a kind which affords support to the people instead of taking from them the fruits of their industry. I am happy that their advantage and mine go hand in hand. What the extent of this advantage of mine may be, I presume to speak only generally; and if it please God to keep me here a few years more, with the same demand for the fabrics of this quarter as I have hitherto found, I hope it may be such as will render the burden of debt light. My advantage results entirely from the free, open trade I carry on in cloths, produced in far greater abundance than the Company demands, and it is of course a thing beneficial to the country, and to the Company whose estate the country is, that the surplus should find a vent. This is a trade expressly granted by the Court of Directors at home, and the Government here, and I have never sent away a single bale for which I have not taken a passport at the Custom House.

Grant frequently made journeys into the district, and the correspondence between Mrs Grant and himself during his absence has been preserved. These letters give petty incidents and details of life in rural Bengal

a century and a quarter ago, and they are very similar to correspondence in up-country stations in India at the present time, especially in places remote from a railway. Of course their life was monotonous and secluded; but echoes reached them from the outer world. Sometimes these echoes were rather startling. Several letters were received in 1781 from Mrs Grant's cousin, James Fraser, a planter living on the Ganges beyond Dinapore, who gave them a stirring narrative of Warren Hastings' perilous adventure at Benares, and of subsequent events in that neighbourhood. Notwithstanding this, he was most anxious that Mr and Mrs Grant should visit him, as they were then temporarily leaving Malda for the sake of her health, which had been seriously impaired by the climate of Malda. Her continued weakness, however, induced them to return, when they had proceeded up the river as far as Monghir, and they went to Calcutta instead, where her health improved so much that, at the end of November, they returned to Malda. Her very delicate health was the cause of much anxiety to her husband.

In March 1782 they were again compelled to visit Calcutta with the intention of proceeding to the coast near Midnapur. For this purpose the whole family embarked for their destination on one of the Company's yachts. As they were sailing down the Hooghly the vessel sank, and they had a marvellously narrow escape from being drowned. Observing that there was danger, they landed to take their breakfast on a sandbank; and, while there, they saw her heel over, both hull and masts being immersed. Grant has given in his Journal a graphic account of this accident.

After this occurrence the family returned to Calcutta, and it was found expedient to give up the plan of going to the sea-side. When Mrs Grant was sufficiently recovered, they went back to Malda. The following extracts are from Grant's Journal for 1782 :—

Journal for 1782.

Malda, 6th January 1782.—The Lord hath graciously brought us to the beginning of this new year, with more enjoyment than my state and the dangers that frequently threatened us through the last year gave me reason to expect. My dear wife continues at present to mend, our children are well, my own health is still preserved to me, and my business upon the whole is in a promising state.

13*th January*.—The whole of this week I have been engaged by complaints from the Aurungs (factories) of the oppressions committed on the weavers in the Dinajipore province. They are shamefully unjust and impolitic, and threaten much loss and trouble to this station. I have at length transmitted a representation to the Board, and have done some other things that seemed incumbent on me. The severities practised against the weavers have interrupted and disordered all my business at the Aurungs. It seems as if it were necessary for me to go there in order to endeavour to quiet things, and I propose to set out to-morrow or next day.

20*th January*.—Very great confusion at the Aurungs occasioned by the oppression of Davy (Dēvi) Sing's people; called to Caligong (Kāliganj). Went thither the 17th, and having ascertained the state of the manufactures, and detected the exorbitant exactions of the Collectors, hope I have also used a method which will defeat them and restore order.

27*th January*, *Sunday*.—This last week has been employed in writing about the complaints of the weavers and the oppressions exercised against them. Mr Becher writes me from Calcutta that my letters were not brought on publickly; but that private orders were sent by Shore not to oppress the weavers. The time of preparing for going to the sea-side approaches.

10*th February*.—Rode out with Mrs Grant in the evening, Udny accompanying us. Alighting on the east side of the river, we walked towards it conversing, when on the opposite bank a jungle fowl flew out of the copse on the side of the house. As we were

observing it and still advancing, a tiger directly opposite to us, probably not ten yards distant, roared and ran away. At the first sound of his voice I did not know whether he had not jumped on one of us. What a sensation crossed my heart! We all set to running. I looked back and saw the monster going away. How full of instruction and mercy is this occurrence.

17th February.—The complaints of the oppression of the weavers seem to have been effectual. Orders for perfect satisfaction in respect of all injuries have come from Calcutta. The point is now to get them executed. Grievous oppressions carrying on in this neighbourhood, and a frequent resort of the poor people to the Factory. Imperfect as my conduct is, I hope some evil is prevented.

24th February.—At Caligong alone. The settlement of accounts between the weavers and Davy Sing's people together with other matters brought me to this place.

3rd March.—Returned from Caligong in the morning of the 27th. I effected several points by going there, but Davy Sing's man evaded the repayment of the exactions till he should have an answer from his master. The same man is accused of having beaten a poor man to death in that neighbourhood.

Calcutta, 17th March.—With difficulty and fatigue arrived here this night. Found our friends well.

Calcutta, 21st April.—We embarked last Monday morning, 15th, in one of the Company's yachts to go down the river for Burcool (Birkul.) The wind was high and contrary, the vessel frequently tacked, and in these operations lurched so much as to make us uneasy. Next morning about half-past five we weighed anchor again with the ebb and a fresh wind, having Sangrel (Sankral) Point before us. In working past this, the Serang[1] of the yacht did not tack in time. The vessel's foreheel was slanting into the bank; he tried to push her off and did not succeed. It was now past seven o'clock. I went into Mrs Grant's cabin and we prayed, after which we came out to sit down to breakfast, which was laid out and the children seated at table. But by this time the vessel heeled so much that we sat very unevenly, and the children needed each a servant to support their chairs. Mrs Grant repeatedly

[1] Sarang, the head boatman.

expressed dissatisfaction at this situation, and I, in some impatience both at our situation and her dissatisfaction, took a sudden thought of breakfasting ashore. I ordered immediately a sail to be spread on poles on the bank, the tables and tea-things to be landed, and handed Mrs Grant and the children ashore. I was far enough, however, from concluding the flood tide would not set the vessel right. The Serang was confident that it would. He rejected my proposal of carrying an anchor into the stream. He and his people seemed to wait with a kind of tranquillity for the flood. About eleven o'clock, the water being then fallen very low, she loosened from the furrow which the keel had made in the bank. She lay almost on her side; the fastenings on the land gave way. She fell into the water, her hull sank, her very masts were instantly out of sight. What were my sensations to see that fine vessel in which we were at home a little before, in which we reckoned ourselves so secure, at once become nothing, swallowed up in a moment! About noon we moved to some tents of Captain Wood's, half a mile distant. Thither he himself obligingly came in the evening thro' very rough water, and conducted us to his house, at Manicksoky Point, where we were hospitably accommodated that night. Next day we set off at twelve o'clock and reached Calcutta by three. I can hardly think steadily of what would have happened, if by Mrs Grant's uneasiness it had not come into my mind to land before breakfast. I should have staid, trying different expedients, till the water had come in and a scene of horror and ruin ensued. I have not enough considered how signal the deliverance has been.

26*th May*, *near Auggerduss*.—We left Calcutta on the 22nd inst. To-day we have been in tents on shore, had a discourse from Tillotson on those words, "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world," etc.

We owe many thanks for being brought back in safety. My dear wife apparently rather better. To-day we have had divine service with the first of Mr Walker's sermons. Mr Obeck arrived with us Thursday; may his residence here be happy to himself and to us.

24*th November*.—I have had a new lesson this week

in the death of Mr Becher, my early and great benefactor; and himself, after a life of trouble and great vicissitudes, closing it in poverty and distress, leaving a wife and seven children destitute of worldly provision. A complex and in every way a sad subject for my grief. A task is left to me to show gratitude to my benefactor in his family, though my own circumstances are so involved.

Christmas Day.—Celebrated by our little party, whom the goodness of God had brought together, Udny and Williams having come from the country. We have had divine service, and have read out of Bp. Hall's *Meditations on the Mystery of Godliness* enough to raise our admiration and gratitude.

The year 1783 seems to have been the most tranquil that Mr and Mrs Grant spent at Malda. The principal event was a destructive drought, which desolated the district, and called forth all Grant's energies in procuring relief for the famishing people. With regard to his private affairs, Grant had the satisfaction to find, on his books being balanced, that, deducting all the charges incurred, a sum of nearly two lakhs of rupees (£20,000) had been acquired, so that the debt which had hitherto troubled him had been considerably reduced. He gratefully acknowledged that he had been brought to a place better calculated than any other to advance his temporal interests.

In April 1784 Grant received the sorrowful intelligence of his sister Catherine's death. It will be remembered that she had married William Sprott, Writer to the Signet, who resided in Edinburgh. She died on 3rd February 1783, about ten years after her marriage. Grant had known less of this sister than of the other, because, in early life, she had lived mostly with their relative Shewglie, who had shown her much kindness and attention. At the same time he was very anxious about his sister May, who had long been seriously ailing; but his anxiety was

fully relieved when he next heard from her. On 4th December in this year she was happily married to the Rev. Roderick Mackenzie, who was a fine stalwart specimen of a Highland minister.

On 20th June there was an entry in his Journal recording the joyful fact of his being quite out of debt, the heavy incubus under which he had been staggering for so many years being thus entirely removed. The scrupulousness of his conscience is very apparent in the frequent reference he makes to this subject, and in the fear lest his profits should, in any way, be tainted by excess; but he quietly referred all to the goodness of his Heavenly Father, whose hand he desired to recognise in all the matters of daily life.

Journal for 1784.

23*rd May*.—This last week our dear Charles had a remarkable escape. Running into a grassy part of the garden, where a little summer-house stands, he ran over, and, he says himself, trod upon a large cobra, which reared its head upon him; but the rapidity of his motion had in the same moment carried him into the summer-house. How easily might this accident have spread desolation among us! The child says he felt the snake soft under his foot, which was bare. May God bless and sanctify the life He has preserved!

20*th June*.—Have closed my books for the last year, and the result is quite beyond my expectations. It shows me out of debt, and also possessed of a small sum; more indeed than ever I was clearly possessed of before. What concerns me most here is to review my gains, to see that none of them are exceptionable, and to admire the goodness of God that has given me power to get wealth.

26*th June*.—I have been severely worked in body and mind by a scruple concerning a profit accruing on the Company's contract, independent of the commission. There is no time to set forth the nature of the

affair here, much less all the calculations and enquiries that belong to it; but apprehending that a part of the profit which has in an unforeseen manner arisen should not, in the present condition of the affair, be appropriated absolutely by me, I have in my books set it apart again from my estate, until I further consider what conscience and duty require me to do about it.

Grant's scrupulous conscience seems to have been unnecessarily alarmed in this affair, as he soon after writes :—

"*18th July.*—Messrs Chambers, Udny, and Obeck (whom he had consulted) advise against returning the surplus on the contract."

We publish the following extract from a letter to Raikes to show Grant's anxiety regarding the future of his growing sons.

Charles Grant to Thomas Raikes.

MALDA, *23rd October* 1784.

Our children are still a source of anxiety to us. The young mind assimilates to the climate and the people among which it has its early perceptions. This climate is debilitating. Long ago did I wish to transport our tender plants to a more kindly soil, but at first every requisite was wanting. Then the mother was for a time in so precarious a state of health that it seemed hazardous to separate her children from her; and, without speaking of the immense weight of the charge that must be delegated, the universal war that soon followed made it entirely prudent to delay. You will wonder when I tell you that, after all, I do not regret this issue; nay, I even believe it has proved a very happy one. A sense of duty and necessity on the one hand, and, on the other, particular advantages enjoyed in this retirement, put us vigorously upon counteracting the unfavourable tendencies of the country, and supplying, as far as we could, the elementary part of the education of a better one; and with great thankfulness for the blessing of God, I must acknowledge that the success has been beyond our hope. But here indeed I must for my own

part disqualify. The instrumental merit is entirely on the mother's side.

The most interesting feature in Grant's Journal for 1785 is the mention of a visit from Sir William and Lady Jones, who were then travelling for the benefit of his health. In this year a great flood devastated the district, and Grant and his assistants manfully exerted themselves in relief of the sufferers from this appalling inundation. These exertions and the malaria arising from the flood probably helped to bring on a serious illness, in which he was carefully tended by Obeck.

Journal for 1785.

18th January 1785.—Surprised early last week by the appearance of letters here for Sir W. Jones. Heard afterwards from himself of his intention to visit us. He arrived yesterday in a convalescent state. Sir W. Jones has shown me an ingenious dissertation on the mythology of the Hindoos, in which he has strongly professed his belief in the Sacred Scriptures.

6th February.—The week following that day I went with Sir W. and Lady Jones to Gour, taking the great tank in our way. Sir W. was curious at Gour only about the remains of art. The mosque of the Adunah was the best thing we saw in our excursion—a curiosity worth a visit. We returned to the Factory Saturday night. Sir W., who slept in his budgerow, came ashore early Sunday morning, and joined us at family prayer, afterwards at Church, and read to us one of Secker's discourses on "Whatsoever things are pure," etc. The rest of the day passed in a variety of discourse, not religious, nor quite free, but rather more entertaining and useful than the Sunday before. After this they stayed four days. Sir W. employed part of that time in perusing the collections in the *Religious Ceremonies of All Nations*, about the religion of the Hindoos. He and Lady Jones went the different rides hereabouts, and seemed pleased with them and the place. They took leave of us the 27th at night. They were very polite and complaisant to our family customs. Sir

W. is astonishing in variety and depth of learning, facility and variety of genius, and is polite and entertaining in a high degree. As to myself, I must conclude I answered his expectations in no way. The shame of being unlearned and the desire for some acquisition in that way took again possession of my mind. A great event now takes place in the political world. Mr Hastings actually goes home and leaves Mr Macpherson in the Government.

11*th September*.—A great overflowing of the waters this year; the whole country between the Ganges and Mohannudda covered; the poor people in dreadful distress,—clinging still to their huts, though half filled, losing their grain, their cattle, their movables, probably many their lives too. Last year but one was a destroying drought here, now a destroying flood. Sent up boats to the people.

9*th October*.—James Grant with Capt. Grant Glenmoriston arrived the 24th.[1] The 25th they took leave of us, to proceed up the country. J. G. leaving me with new and greater impressions of the superiority of his political genius and attainments, particularly in the knowledge of the revenue business of the Company's possessions on the Coast and here, on which subject he has written treatises which must set him before all that have yet treated of them, and probably open his way to great distinction at home, whither he proposes going the ensuing season; but he is the same man otherwise, filled with this world and regardless of another.

The day after he left us I was apparently much better, but I was taken ill again that night. From the 21st ult. I have kept my room, and I am still very weak and reduced. In all this visitation I have seen much of the mercy of the Lord. Mr Obeck has been an excellent physician for the cure of my disorder, no less for the benefit of my soul, in which last respect I have experienced more of his value and aid on this occasion

[1] James Grant was a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service. In his time he was a high authority on revenue matters, and he wrote two works on Indian affairs, one of which attained a second edition in a few months. A special appointment, namely, that of Chief Serishtadar, was made for him. He was, for a brief period, Resident at Hyderabad.

than I ever did before. When I found myself so ill on the morning of the 28th, and unable to think much, or to pray for myself, I was led to think of asking him to pray with me. He did so readily, and surprised and edified me by the faith, humility, fervency, pious affection, and copious thoughts he displayed in that duty. He has continued it with me evening and morning, and given me abundant cause to admire the great grace bestowed upon him.

The year 1786 was an important epoch in Grant's life. At the beginning of it he, with his family, paid a visit to Calcutta, which extended to more than six months. They left Malda on 5th January, and did not return till 27th July. The principal object of his going to Calcutta was to carry on the negotiations about his contract, regarding which there had been a good deal of uncertainty. It has been seen how strictly conscientious he had been, even entertaining qualms about his own profits. It will be observed in his Journal that Chambers and Udny were both of opinion that he had obtained these profits legitimately, and that no restitution need be made. He thought it right, however, to lay the state of the case fully before the authorities, and he was relieved to find that his offer for the contract for the ensuing year was cordially accepted; and that, in fact, there was no competitor, as he had expected there would be. Warren Hastings having left the country, the senior member of Council, Mr—afterwards Sir John—Macpherson, known in Calcutta as "the gentle giant," was acting as Governor-General. Grant's Journal relates his interviews with him, and the final decision of the Government to accept his offer of contract. He completely unbosomed himself, both to the Board of Trade and to the Council, about the profits which he had obtained from the investments for the Company, so that whatever these bodies recommended or decided was done with their eyes open, and they fully approved his conduct in this matter. The

Government also consulted him on affairs connected with the Commercial Department, as changes were contemplated in this department of the Service as well as in the Board of Trade itself.

On 27th July Mr and Mrs Grant reached Malda after their prolonged absence. Mrs Grant, however, had another attack of illness after their return, and this very naturally inclined their thoughts to the idea of turning their faces towards Europe. A great change, however, not only in Grant's own life, but in the whole conduct of the Service, was impending. Lord Cornwallis had been appointed Governor-General, and he was going out with strict injunctions to make an exhaustive inquiry into every department of public affairs in India. The greater number of the members of the Company's Civil Service were guilty of dishonest practices, which were generally connived at by those in authority at Calcutta, and even by the Court of Directors themselves. The new Governor-General had been selected to counteract this scarcely veiled laxity. He was well known for integrity of purpose and for purity of aim. He was a high-minded and honourable nobleman, of too exalted a rank to suffer himself to stoop to meanness or deceit, and too upright to permit anything of the kind in others. It is most interesting to trace in Grant's Journal the gradual progress of his acquaintance with Lord Cornwallis, and his appreciation of that nobleman's character and policy; especially with reference to affairs in the revenue and commercial history of Bengal. On the other hand, it is equally interesting to note the increase of Lord Cornwallis's confidence in him. It is impossible to read the Governor-General's Correspondence at this time, and more especially his letters to Mr Dundas, President of the Board of Control, without feeling what an excellent judge of character he was. The gradual unfolding of Grant's relations with him is

revealed in certain passages in the Journal now before us. The following entry on 17th September 1786 is the first mention of the new Governor-General:—"Lord Cornwallis landed at Fort William, and took possession of the Government on 12th September." Lord Cornwallis had previously heard of Grant as an upright and distinguished member of the Civil Service; but the latter was naturally much surprised at the first communication from such a high functionary being a request for all the accounts of the Malda Factory since the year 1764. This request was made in pursuance of the Governor-General's design to institute a rigorous inquiry into the whole condition of the Service. Grant thus expresses his feelings on the subject:—

15*th October*.—Extremely surprised to hear last night that the Directors not only disapproved of Residents being contractors, but had ordered that they should be restricted from private trade. This, if carried into execution, must finish my views here. Add to all this a requisition to-day for most voluminous Factory accounts of the provision, costs, etc., of the Malda investment from 1764.

Then came an invitation to go to Calcutta for an interview.

29*th October*.—I was surprised last Tuesday to receive a long letter from Lord Cornwallis, very civil, and desiring opinions about the investment, abuses, etc., with an invitation, if I please, to go to the Presidency. This has filled my thoughts and time since. Who can tell what may result from this occurrence?

Grant accepted the Governor-General's kindly invitation, and proceeded to Calcutta, where he arrived on 16th December 1786.

Meanwhile, it is necessary to take a survey of matters from Lord Cornwallis's point of view. This is found in a letter written by him a year later to Mr John Motteux, who was Chairman of the Court of Directors for that year.

"I shall never think it a wise measure in this country," he wrote, "to place men in great and responsible situations, where the prosperity of our affairs must depend on their exertions as well as integrity, without giving them the means, in a certain number of years, of acquiring honestly and openly a moderate fortune. The Company has many valuable servants; the temper of the times is changing. Men are beginning to contract their present expenses and future views. . . . I refer you to a letter which I transmit to the Court of Directors relative to the prosecutions. In the list which I have desired you to reconsider, there are as honourable men as ever lived; they have committed no fault but that of submitting to the extortion of their superiors; they had no other means of getting their bread, and they had no reason to expect support if they had complained. I sincerely believe that, excepting Mr Charles Grant, there is not one person in the list who would escape prosecution."[1]

This shows very clearly why Grant obtained such a gracious invitation.

On his arrival at Calcutta Grant was laid aside for a few days by indisposition, so that he was prevented from waiting on the Governor-General until the 23rd, when he was introduced by his friend, John Shore. It is interesting to read his first impressions regarding Lord Cornwallis, with whom he was afterwards to be brought into closer relations.

"I found him," he wrote in his Journal on the following day, "not the character I had figured—he had less, I thought, of vigour and dignity, and more of affability, ease, and good nature. His excellence seems to be in upright intentions, freedom from all entanglements of patronage and private ends, and decision suitable to that temper. He has already given a higher tone and energy to the Service. He received me with great politeness, talked in a desultory manner about the investments, seemed to refer much to Mr Shore; and, being engaged for other business, proposed

[1] *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, vol. i. p. 306. London, John Murray, 1859.

our dining with him to-day and having a little private conversation. . . . He treated me with great attention and seated me on one side of him, but no particular conversation." A few days later he wrote :—" His Lordship has entire uprightness, no shackles from private views or connections, a good judgement, and a vast share of kindness and affability with decision."

Grant was very much troubled during the first part of his stay at Calcutta on this occasion by the recent contract for the supply of cloth at Malda for the Company's investment, which we have seen he had readily obtained from Government before the arrival of Lord Cornwallis. He had also made contracts for silk manufactures for Becher, and he seems to have entertained some scruples about this private transaction. Accusations against him had been made from Chandernagore concerning certain business which he had undertaken for the French in that settlement; but there appears to be no necessity to do more than mention these matters, because at that time they caused him a good deal of anxiety and distress. They will be referred to again at a later date, when he considered it his duty to present to the Government a sworn declaration on the whole subject of his contracts. All the statements on these points concur in elucidating the uprightness of his character, and in bringing out into clearer relief the delicate and scrupulous sensitiveness of his mind. These circumstances account for the depression of spirits which troubled him during the earlier part of his stay in Calcutta; but this soon passed away as he realised the esteem in which he was held by the new Governor-General, and as he felt more and more the pleasure which he enjoyed in the society of his Christian friends. The result of his intercourse with Lord Cornwallis was that on 17th January 1787 he was appointed Fourth Member of the Board of Trade; and, at his special request, George Udny was appointed to succeed him at Malda.

During this anxious time of waiting, of interviews with the Governor-General, and of the successive alternations of hope and apprehension regarding the matter of his contracts, an animated correspondence was kept up between him and his wife. We give some extracts from their letters.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

CALCUTTA, 18*th January* 1787.

Living in the vicinity of this place is not agreeable; but it may be useful to prepare us for a still more public scene at home, if the mercy of God should carry us thither, and I do not think we shall be greatly troubled with visits, not so much from designed neglect, as because they consider us as people who have retired from society, and occupy ourselves with little of what makes the important business of visiting parties, which indeed I hope is the case; and, besides, I constantly find the attention of the world more dangerous than its neglect. We shall find abundance to do, and there is no fear of our wanting comfort in every situation, if we keep close to God, which is the only concern we need trouble ourselves about, and so important as justly to render all others of little regard.

Mrs Grant to Mr Grant.

MALDAH, 19*th January* 1787.

So all is settled, and we are really to leave Maldah, and live in Calcutta. I am sure I shall not gain by the change, for I never expect to lead so quiet and easy a life again; but the Lord's will be done. May He enable us to fulfil the duties of the station He chooses for us.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

CALCUTTA, 20*th January* 1787.

I have only to tell you that I have taken Mrs Wheler's Garden. It has a piece of pasture land on the opposite side of the road, and I am told there is a

dwelling there which, with some improvements, may do for Mr Obeck. I mean that the dwelling is within the garden.

Mrs Grant to Mr Grant.

MALDAH, 21*st January* 1787.

The beginning of your last to Mr Udny, "I am no longer Resident of Maldah," made me quite melancholy; but as it is the will of Providence, I must not murmur. I regret as much as anything this large house, in which the children had room to play, as it were, under my own eye, and were not exposed to the sun or anything else; but the Lord, I trust, will graciously keep them wherever they are.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

CALCUTTA, 22*nd January* 1787.

My business here is now wound up. Udny is appointed, and I shall set off to-night or to-morrow at the flood.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

PINNACE,
(Between Mirzapore and Jahanagur),
25*th January* 1787.

I mean to make the best of my way to the Factory on Saturday. There my stay can be only seven days at farthest, so that, if matters should not be ready for a general departure, I cannot still think of disappointing the expectations entertained that I shall be back in Calcutta by the 20th. . . . As to your regret for leaving Maldah, I am not without mine too; but consider that we could not have remained there long. Therefore this regret must have come soon, and it might have been heightened by seeing a stranger take possession of all our enjoyments, and our own friends thrust out. Now that we can leave the field to them, entire and happy, and quit it ourselves both with advantage and credit, here is mercy upon mercy, anticipating the little regret we must have felt, and covering it with

wondrous goodness. I own the prospect of a residence in Calcutta, or near it, is not pleasing; but I think we may warrantably conclude the providence of God calls us to it, and if, after giving us so many years of easy retirement, He now desires us to live again more in the world, we ought cheerfully to obey. We know that one purpose of this must be to glorify Himself by our conduct, another affraying thought certainly; but whether it be for our humiliation in avowing the Gospel truth, or for the trial of our strength by showing the peace and good-will and kindness that religion inspires, we should acquiesce and prepare ourselves, determining to mix no farther than duty calls us.

Grant left to take up his new appointment on 8th February 1787. The pang of leaving Malda was alleviated by the knowledge that his place was to be taken by George Udny, in whom he had perfect confidence, and by whom he felt assured that "the family" would be carefully governed. The feelings that actuated him on this occasion are best described in his own words.

"May God make me grateful," he wrote in his Journal, "for all His mercies here, which have been many and great. May He go with me now removing, and also stay with the young men, whom I leave with our friend George Udny at their head as Resident."

In this trustful spirit Charles Grant closed his stay at Malda. His life there had been smooth and peaceful, with the single exception of his great anxiety regarding the health of his wife. His children had been remarkably well and carefully trained. A second daughter, named Charity Emilia, had been born on 11th April 1785. All four children continued with him in Calcutta, the two elder being rather old for residence in India.

CHAPTER VI

EARLY EFFORTS FOR CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

A.D. 1783 TO 1790

Grant the founder of Protestant Missions in North India—Building of St John's Church at Calcutta—Grant sends marble from Gaur—Kiernander's Mission—Sale of "Beth Tephillah"—Purchased by Grant—Letter to Raikes—Treatment of the people—Dr Coke's correspondence with Grant — Extract from Grant's letter to Schwartz—Arrival of the Rev. David Brown—Conferences about Missions between Grant, Chambers, and Brown—Draft papers given to Dr Thomas—Letter to Thomas—Letter to Raikes—Account of Thomas Raikes — "Proposal for Establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Behar"—Raikes lays it before Bishop Porteus — "Proposal" sent to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—George Livius's Letter—Wilberforce's copy submitted to William Pitt—Simeon's interest in the scheme—His interest in India—His selection of Chaplains—Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge apply to the Court of Directors regarding schools in India—Grant applies to Lord Cornwallis for Government support — The Governor-General's negative reply—Three letters from Grant to Schwartz.

No one did more towards the establishment of Christian Missions in Bengal than Charles Grant. He took the liveliest interest in all that related to the promotion of Christianity in India, and he felt troubled at the darkness in which the people of the country were living. This led to exertion on their behalf, and it is to him more than to any other individual that Bengal and North India owe the commencement of Protestant Missions, and the great Missionary Societies of the

Church of England and of the Wesleyans are indebted mainly to him for the origin of their Missions there. The first recorded instance of the interest which he took in such matters is in connection with St John's Church, which was afterwards the Cathedral of the Metropolitan of India.[1] Early in the eighteenth century a Church was built near the Old Fort; but it was destroyed during the troubles at Calcutta in 1756. It was not till 1782 that any serious effort to erect a new Church was made, and the foundation stone was not laid till 6th April 1784. This Church was dedicated on 24th June 1787, Lord Cornwallis and all the great officers of State attending the ceremony. While efforts were being made to obtain materials for its construction, Grant was one of the foremost to render his services; and soon after the foundation stone had been laid, he addressed the following letter to the Churchwardens, which not only shows the interest he took in the building of the Church, but also gives an account of the ruins of Gaur.

MALDA, *9th June* 1784.

I imagine a number of stones sufficient for the pavement of the new Church may be collected from the ruins of Gour. The stones are of various sizes, many from a foot to two feet long, seven inches to fifteen broad, and seldom less than six inches deep. They are of a blue colour; those I have occasionally viewed have appeared to be hewn on three sides, but not polished. All the remains of Gour are unquestionably the property of Government, which we may dispose of at pleasure, as was the custom of the Soubahdars.

It may not be amiss to add that besides the stones which are used in the buildings of Gour, there are among the ruins a few huge masses, which appear to be of blue marble, and have a fine polish. The most remarkable of these covered the tombs of the Kings of Gour, whence

[1] See Bishop Heber's description of it in Dr George Smith's *Bishop Heber, Poet and Chief Missionary to the East*, p. 150. Murray, 1895.

they were removed about fifteen years ago (1768-9) by a Major Adams, employed in surveying, who intended to send them to Calcutta; but not being able to weigh them into boats, they still remain on the banks of the river. Some time since I was desired to give my aid in procuring blocks of marble from Gour for a private use, but as I knew not how to comply, unless these masses, which are real curiosities, were broken in parts, I declined. The present occasion is, however, of a different nature. They are already removed from their original situations, and if any use can be made of them entire for the Church, they would there be best preserved, as indeed they deserve to be. There are also some smaller stones, polished and ornamented with flowers, sculptures, fretwork, etc., and a few freestones of great length.[1]"

In a letter dated 27th July 1784 George Udny, then at Calcutta, announced the safe arrival of these stones, which he had sent to Mr Hay, Secretary to Government, one of the Churchwardens.

The next undertaking in which Grant interested himself was Kiernander's Mission in Calcutta, which led to the acquisition of a building for Mission purposes known as the Old Church, now belonging to the Church Missionary Society. A brief *resumé* of its former history is necessary to elucidate the narrative. The Rev. John L. Kiernander, a Danish Missionary from Cuddalore, in the employ of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, arrived at Calcutta on 29th September 1758. He was cordially welcomed by Clive and other residents in the capital; and not being acquainted with Bengali, and his Tamil not being understood there, he was unable to exercise his office as a direct Missionary to the people, and occupied himself in ministering to the Portuguese congregation in the Fort. He commenced a school, and in 1767 he began to build a Mission Church, in which he

[1] *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal from the Earliest Settlement until the Virtual Conquest of that Country by the English*, p. 188. Calcutta, 1831

held divine service for the first time on the fourth Sunday in April 1770, dedicating it to this purpose as "Beth Tephillah" or the "House of Prayer."[1] He had become very wealthy owing to his marriage with a rich lady, and he took upon himself the whole expense of the building. He also founded a Mission School on his own ground behind the Church. About this time Mr Diemer, of whom mention has already been made, arrived to assist him in the Mission. Later on Mr Kiernander experienced a trying reverse of fortune, and, in 1787, when he was in the seventy-sixth year of his age, he was reduced to poverty. All his property was confiscated, and even the "House of Prayer" was put up for sale by the Sheriff of Calcutta. "One person," said the chronicler, "stepped forward, who restored the Church to religion." This person was Grant. He had long venerated the aged minister, who, in the time of his affliction, had introduced him to Mr Diemer, as one fitted to administer spiritual guidance and comfort. Grant had valued his counsels when in Calcutta or during his visits thither, and had alluded to him in letters to Mrs Grant.

> "He paid for the building the sum it was appraised at—ten thousand rupees. Yes, one person stepped forward and saved the Temple, where the hymns of truth have been chaunted for seventeen years, from being profaned by the humdrum sing-song of an auctioneer."[2]

The Church, the school, and the burying-ground were rescued from profane hands, and were transferred to the possession of three trustees, namely, Grant himself, William Chambers, and the Rev. David Brown, on behalf of the Society for Promoting

[1] *The History of Christianity in India*, by the Rev. James Hough. Second Portion, vol. ii. p. 24. London, Seeley, 1845.

[2] *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal*, p. 201.

Christian Knowledge.[1] It subsequently became the property of the Church Missionary Society, and, losing its Hebrew name, it was known as the Mission Church or the Old Church.[2]

Perhaps the most noted instance of Grant's schemes for the benefit of the people around him, was a Proposal for a Mission to Bengal and Bahar. This effort, though not immediately successful, was most fruitful in results, for to it can distinctly be traced the establishment of the Church Missionary Society, which has done so much towards the evangelization of India as well as of Africa and other countries. There occur in his letters passages which show how acutely he felt the condition of his non-Christian neighbours. The following extract from a letter to Raikes gives also his views as to the attitude which ought to be adopted by English residents in India towards their subordinates.

Charles Grant to Thomas Raikes.

MALDA, 23*rd October* 1784.

Although inquiries into the evils that afflict the people and the means of redressing them are now deservedly become a business of Government, yet I shall fear that all remedies will prove ineffectual which have no respect to the moral and intellectual state of the inhabitants. Europeans are not, perhaps for the welfare of the mother country never ought to be, here in sufficient numbers to fill every gradation of office in the internal administration of the country. The natives must, therefore, be employed; and when there is among them a universal want of those qualities that cement society—of integrity, truth, and faithfulness—to what purpose can good regulations be framed? The instruments by which any work is to be performed must have

[1] *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal;* Kaye's *Christianity in India*, p. 112; *History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, 1898, p. 276.

[2] *The History of Christianity in India*, by the Rev. James Hough. Second Portion, vol. ii. pp. 24-42.

some degree of fitness. If they fail at every stroke, nothing can be effected. On the other hand, were those qualities in a good degree prevalent, the principles of the Company's Government, however imperfect, would have proved far less noxious, and a new system would be comparatively easy. I am not, as you may believe, for following the Mahomedan example of establishing opinions by the sword; but I certainly am for helping these poor people whose land we enjoy, who are now in effect subjects of Britain, to recover the almost lost life of nature, and to become acquainted with the truth and excellence of Revelation, with the improvements and the rights of man. I am afraid neither the politicians nor any other class of persons connected with Indian affairs will esteem this comprehensive idea; and even the views which are entertained by statesmen and others for the welfare of India are so disturbed by party as to be sometimes indistinct. Ambition and party, in a word, have marred all that has been intended for the benefit of this country for ten years past. They now bring forth astonishing productions. How have I been thrown into speechless amazement by reading the public orations at home in the course of the last two years; but on this delicate topic I shall not proceed. The conclusion which might be drawn from it you will have already made in observing how few, even in the most enlightened parts of the earth, rise above the mists of present passions to objects having respect to "Him who is invisible." I join with you cordially in what you say concerning the excellency of the Scriptures. As in so many other views, so considered with reference to human nature, both their evidence and their excellence are illustrated, for they discover the deepest knowledge of man in every possible variety, as well as teach what the world by wisdom could not know. May we, my friend, make them more and more the standard of our opinions and our conduct; may they make us wise unto salvation.

We will now consider the great ideas which Grant began at this time to entertain about an effective Mission in India. His earliest thoughts on the subject were suggested by a letter from Dr Coke, the founder of

Wesleyan Methodist Missions, and reference to this letter occurs so far back in his Journal as 21st November 1784:—

"Read two days ago a letter from Dr Coke, in connection with Mr Wesley, with a scheme for a Mission to this country, and queries for information and assistance. A great project! May it be well influenced. May I answer rightly."

Grant's reply to Dr Coke's letter has not been kept, but it appears from the following passage in a letter addressed to Schwartz just a year later that he took particular pains in writing it, consulting Obeck on the subject because he had been a pupil of Schwartz. This paragraph contains an abstract of Grant's answer, and Dr Coke's rejoinder, which follows, shows how much he appreciated the sympathy and the information he had received.

Charles Grant to the Rev. C. F. Schwartz.

MALDA, *November* 1785.

The Methodists have actually set on foot a scheme and opened a subscription for a Mission to India. Of a letter written to me on this last subject I enclose you a duplicate, as, perhaps, the communication of it may not be unacceptable to you. I have answered it with the assistance of our friend Mr Obeck, giving such information as we could on the points inquired about, not concealing, but rather explaining, difficulties; at the same time endeavouring to fortify the good intentions expressed in the scheme, and to suggest the most likely means, under the blessing of God, of rendering them effectual, recommending particularly the obtaining, if possible, of the countenance of the powers ecclesiastical and civil at home, and their influence with the Government here, as also the avoiding as much as may be of all party distinctions in carrying on a work which is equally the duty, and the acknowledged duty, of all Christians.

Dr Coke wrote to Grant in reply :—

LONDON, 25*th January* 1786.

I return you my very sincere thanks for the pains you have taken in your kind favour which I lately received. We have now through your condescending letter full instructions before us. The difficulties in the way of a Mission to Bengal are very great; but nothing is impossible with God. The hill-country you mention seems abundantly the most eligible part for the undertaking, and probably will be our object as soon as we are enabled to make the attempt. Since I had the honour of writing to you, I have visited our Societies in America; and at present our openings in that quarter of the globe, and the pressing invitations we have lately received from Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the States, call for all the resources we at present have. The high esteem which the Government has for Mr Wesley, I am well persuaded, will procure for us the assistance which you think it necessary to receive from that quarter. But Mr Wesley himself seems to have a doubt whether that would be the most excellent way. In England, Ireland, and America, we have gone on what appears, at first sight at least, to be a more Evangelical plan. Our missionaries have not at all concerned themselves with applications to the Civil Power. They have been exact in their submission to all its laws, and, at the same time, have laid themselves out in the most extensive manner for God. We have thought that the plan on which the Danish and Moravian missionaries have proceeded (though we highly admire their piety, their intention, and the abilities of many of them) bears but little resemblance to that of the Apostles and their successors. In all the places which we have hitherto visited we have gone to the highways and hedges to compel sinners to come in. At the same time, every prudential method that is consistent with a Scriptural plan should be pursued. It appears very expedient that the missionaries should visit the settlements of the Danish missionaries, and take every step they can to improve themselves in the language of the people to whom their labours would be chiefly directed. Mr Wesley is of opinion that not fewer

than half a dozen missionaries should at first be sent on such a Mission. Somebody informed me that you have a little company of Christians, consisting of about sixteen or eighteen, at Moldai. The full confirmation of this would give me great pleasure. "Who knows," he added prophetically, "but you may be a little leaven to leaven a mighty lump—the little hand rising out of the sea that shall in time water the whole land."

It will be observed that the idea of obtaining the support of Government happily found no favour either with Dr Coke or with John Wesley.

Grant followed this up by an elaborate description of his plan for establishing a Mission in Bengal, and also by giving Dr Coke a statement regarding the state of religion throughout India. The following is Dr Coke's reply :—

From Dr Coke to Charles Grant.

LONDON, 24*th January* 1788.

You have highly obliged me by your kind letter, which has afforded me so full a View of the state of Religion in Indostan. And now I will inform you of the Plan which, with the Assistance of God, I intend some time hence to pursue for the Establishment of a Mission in Bengal. I intend to carry over with me half-a-dozen young men of Sense and deep Piety and acceptable Gifts for Preaching in the mountainous country above Moldai, and to stay with them for a year or so, till I see a probability of their being in the way of doing Good. But when will this be? In answer to the proposed question, I would lay before you the state of the Methodists in Europe and America. . . . This calls at present for all our resources of men and money ; but in a few years I shall be able, God willing, to take my much-wished-for Voyage to your Mountains.

We publish the above letters for two reasons—to show the ideas which had been passing through Grant's mind before July 1786, and to show that he took no

small part in urging John Wesley and Dr Coke to plant a Wesleyan Methodist Mission in Bengal.

These are some of the indications that, during the last three years of his stay at Malda, Grant closely applied himself to the study of the great problem how best to offer the message of salvation which Christianity imparts to the multitudes by whom he was surrounded. It is to be regretted that his letters to Dr Coke have not been preserved; but the above replies show very clearly the great plans and possibilities which were revolving in his heart, and which were soon about to assume a more definite shape. While he was staying at Calcutta in June 1786, and when the idea of a great Mission to Bengal, systematically arranged and under the protection and patronage of Government, was occupying his thoughts, Grant met a young clergyman recently arrived from England whose mind had been inclined in the same direction. His heart warmed towards this new friend, and they both worked cordially together in this spiritual cause. The young clergyman was the Rev. David Brown, afterwards well known for his piety and for the excellent influence he exercised as a Chaplain in Calcutta. He had gone out to superintend the Military Orphan Asylum; and, having received letters of introduction to Grant, he was cordially received by Mr Chambers, with whom Grant was staying. The principal letter of introduction was from Thomas Raikes, who spoke very highly of the new comer. In his Journal, on 11th June, Grant made the following entry:—

"I had a letter from Mr Raikes strongly recommending Mr David Brown, a clergyman come to superintend the Orphan House. He arrived some days ago with his wife, and this day we had the pleasure of seeing them, and of having their company to dinner. Mr Brown is a young man, quite Evangelical, really pious, zealous, and likely to be an instrument in the hands of the Lord for good here. He comes from the midst of the Evangelical

party in England, Mr Romaine, Mr Newton, etc., and his discourse, full of their labours and the state of religion at home, is entertaining and edifying. The Gospel shines brightly. Many profess to believe it; a good many really do, the rest in form, and the nation at large seems determined on a course of wickedness."

David Brown reached Calcutta, after a long and wearying voyage, on 8th June. The entry in his Journal on 11th June is the counterpart of Grant's:—

"Spent the day with Mr Grant and Mr Chambers at their Bungalow, and received much delight from their company. The visit was, I hope, blessed. Received Capt. Kirkpatrick's letter, informing me of my appointment to be Chaplain to the 6th Battalion. From whom have I received this?—even from Thee, O Lord, whose I am and whom I serve. Make me faithful and keep me so."[1]

On 12th June Grant made another entry in his Journal:—

"I had several interviews with Mr Brown in the course of the week, and I find him a valuable man, a warm, sincere Christian, likely to do good. Providence appears remarkably to smooth his way. Unthought of, he is appointed Chaplain to the 6th Battalion of Europeans in Fort William, which will enlarge his sphere of usefulness. This evening he has given us an excellent discourse at our house from Psalm xxv. 4, well composed and delivered, solid, practical, and edifying. We conceive a high esteem and much hope of him."

On 9th July he wrote:—

"In the evening Mr Brown favoured us again at the Bungalow, and preached to us very edifyingly. Had large conversations among us (Mr Chambers and Mr Obeck being always with us) on the propagation of the

[1] *Memorial Sketches of the Rev. David Brown*, p. 216. London, Cadell & Davies, 1816.

Gospel in this country. Mr Brown very zealous, and assured that many young men of ardent zeal would come out. Consulted on the means of bringing the scheme of a Mission to bear, and agreed on some preliminaries."

On the 10th, two days before he left Calcutta on his return to Malda, he wrote :—

"Mr Brown and Mr Chambers with us at night. Further conversation on the scheme of a Mission. Agree each to write something."

On the same day David Brown wrote in his Journal the following words :—

"I have been variously employed. . . . Began my efforts for a Mission about this time."[1]

Three or four weeks after his return to Malda, Grant recurred to this favourite topic.

"Employed all last week," he wrote in his Journal on 26th August 1786, "on papers concerning the scheme of a Mission to this country discoursed of at Calcutta by Mr Chambers, Mr Brown, and myself. One set of these papers was sent me here by Mr Brown, and I have been preparing another with alterations."

On 1st October he wrote :—

"Mr and Mrs Chambers arrived on the 28th. Sorry to learn from Mr Chambers that Mr Brown has not been so careful and prudent in his conduct as his character and situation required. Rendered hereby more fearful in respect to our preparations in favour of the Mission scheme, more dubious of embarking with him in it."

For many weeks after this entry had been made, Grant was so busily engaged in his interviews with

[1] *Memorial Sketches of the Rev. David Brown*, p. 217.

Lord Cornwallis and his removal to Calcutta that he was unable to give much attention to this important matter. In January 1787, however, he consulted Dr Thomas, with whom he had made acquaintance on his arrival at Calcutta in December. The result of this consultation was that Grant placed the draft papers in the hands of Thomas, who made the following observations on them in a letter to his brother dated 11th January 1787:—

"You must understand there is a Mr Grant here, a man of fortune and consequence, who has projected a Mission of Gospel ministers to this country. The papers are drawn up and are now in my hands, submitted to any alteration I may think necessary. . . . He has made several alterations in the Proposals of *my* stating, and has now given the papers wholly into my hands. Mr Brown, a preacher of the Gospel here, at first regulated the plan, and named eight young men who are in the colleges at home as fit persons to be invited to this work. Here I have objected that young men in colleges are tender and nice, unlikely to endure hardship. . . . Besides, I argue that the character of missionaries ought to be settled and known, having been proved. Brown is jealous of me and severe; but I stand as firm as a rock in mind and conscience, and am too high in the favour and opinion of Mr Grant. Mr Grant proposes to send papers acquainting ministers of the Gospel in general of the opening in this country, and he also offers to entertain two missionaries at his own expense."

"Mr Brown," he wrote to Dr Stennett a year later, "is far from showing himself friendly to the Baptist cause. Mr Grant and his friends had agreed to send the Mission papers to you also, as well as to Mr Newton and others; but, in my absence, by various arguments about the danger of mixtures, he overruled this measure; and they are gone to Mr Newton and other clergymen of the Church of England."[1]

Soon after Grant had settled down to his new work

[1] *Life of John Thomas*, pp. 57, 58, 91. Macmillan, 1863.

at Calcutta, he resumed his discussions with Chambers and Brown on the subject. In his Journal, under date 25th February, he records :—

"Came to the Garden to consult with Mr Chambers about the Mission papers which he has taken in hand. He has made some progress."

His own thoughts with regard to the plan for a Mission and his willingness to maintain at least one of the men, if they had been sent out, are contained in the following letter subsequently addressed to Thomas :—

"When early in 1786 a Proposal for a Mission was drawn up by others and myself, it was mentioned in it that one or two missionaries would be provided for. I happened to be the only person then in circumstances to afford such a provision, and I destined at least one of the missionaries for Goomalty. The advantages of such a situation are great and permanent. In case of converting any of the Natives, as soon as they renounce Hindooism, they must suffer a dreadful excommunication in civil life, unless they are under the immediate protection of the English. The converts may suffer persecution and death, living in heathen towns under heathen landlords. They are entirely in the power of the enemy. Goomalty is a place of safe retreat from such persons. It is out of the reach of persecutors, being the free property of a European Christian, who devotes it to the service of the Gospel ; tenants may live there unmolested, with a permanent protection ; and a manufacture being also established there, which employs many hands, it is calculated to bring settlers, afford them support, and give the Proprietor and missionaries countenanced by him an influence over them. These are the permanent advantages of such a place. If, on the contrary, a missionary settles in a heathen town or ground belonging to a Zemindar, he is at his mercy, and so are his hours subject to all sorts of vexations and interruptions. Therefore, in the Proposal for a Mission, the protection of the English Government was insisted on as material. Not that this

is to be held indispensable; but, if it can be had, and if such a place as Goomalty, which has already the required protection, can be had, is it not to be preferred? Does it not afford the most hopeful prospect of raising schools and establishing a solid work?"

The "Proposal," as the paper prepared and approved by the three friends was called, was ready in August 1787. Fourteen copies of it were written for the purpose of sending them, with covering letters, to those persons in England on whom the promoters of the scheme thought they could thoroughly rely. The following are the names of those to whom these letters were addressed:—

The Archbishop of Canterbury.
The Bishop of Llandaff.
The Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
The Rev. W. Romaine.
The Rev. John Newton.
The Rev. Henry Foster.
The Rev. Richard Cecil.
The Rev. Charles Simeon.
Mr Wilberforce.
Mr Thomas Raikes.
Dr Jackson.
Mr M. (an unknown correspondent).
The Countess of Huntingdon.
The Rev. R. Robinson, of Cambridge.

The fate of three copies of the "Proposal" can be distinctly traced. They were those sent to the Rev. Charles Simeon, Wilberforce, and Thomas Raikes. At one time it was generally imagined that the first was the only one which was fruitful in results. It was most fruitful; but so also were the other two. We will return to the consideration of the copies sent to Simeon and Wilberforce, and now confine our attention to that sent to Grant's friend and correspondent, Thomas Raikes. He was the youngest brother of the distinguished philanthropist, Robert Raikes, the founder of Sunday Schools. He was a Russia merchant, and a man of considerable importance and weight in the City. It is stated that his name was esteemed in the commercial world as a synonym for probity and honour. He was Governor of the Bank of England during the financial

crisis of 1797, and much depended at that time on his counsel and judgment. He was a friend both of Wilberforce and of William Pitt.[1]

An account of the scheme contained in the "Proposal" is given in the following extract from a letter written to Mr Raikes by Grant, dated 15th September 1787. We have stated that Raikes in one of his letters had introduced to Grant the young Chaplain, the Rev. David Brown. Grant replies:—

"I acknowledge that I have all the disposition you would have desired to render service to Mr Brown on your recommendation; but in asking a favour, you conferred on me a double one. He is a man highly worthy of friendship and regard—a man in whose heart and life religion is the governing principle, and who is indeed a valuable minister as well as a real Christian. You may believe, therefore, he proves no small acquisition to our little society here. I consider him a providential gift, and am happy at your having been instrumental in it. We are his constant hearers, and he passes one or two evenings in the week in an improving way with us, besides having the great kindness to undertake in these visits the bringing forward of my children in the Latin language.

"He and Mr Chambers and I have often conferred on a scheme which will have now advanced into some form. It is the propagation of the Gospel among the natives of this country. We have drawn out a Proposal for it, containing reasons for its practicability and expediency, and suggesting an outline of the mode of carrying it into execution. This Proposal we now send to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Llandaff, Mr Wilberforce, and some other persons. The countenance of Government is very material to our scheme, and therefore we solicit the good offices of men in high stations. The contributions of Christians may also be necessary, and therefore we have written to some eminent London Ministers, and to a friend of Mr Brown's, Mr Simeon of Cambridge, to be the agent in the scheme in

[1] *Robert Raikes: the Man and his Work*, p. 246. Edited by J. Henry Harris. Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1897.

order to unite the interests that may favour it. Mr Simeon, we are told, is a man of great zeal, and this temper scarcely ever appears, but some term it 'enthusiasm,' a hard word, which, pehaps, we shall not escape ourselves.

"I enclose you a copy of this 'Proposal,' and shall hope that, if the undertaking appears reasonable to you, and it should be countenanced and brought forward at home, you will not refuse it your support and recommendation. I expect all the Indians will treat it as an idle thing. How should those who give religion no entrance into their own minds think it a duty to take pains in introducing it to others? Men of this stamp have in all ages and all countries been opposers. We know most of the objections they can urge, and have, either in the Proposal itself or other letters, spoken to them. The last we have written to Mr Wilberforce. I will enclose you a copy of it, and I hope you will make use of the matter therein contained and this private communication without standing on the ceremony of receiving a formal letter from us. Mr Wilberforce's letter I wish you to reserve to yourself for a time, until it is seen what part he takes; and, if he supports the scheme, then also the knowledge of the letter need not be avowed, though the contents of it may be applied to any use of which they are capable."

We now give a copy of the original letter to Mr Wilberforce, which Mr Grant forwarded to his correspondent, and which contains the terms of the "Proposal." We believe that this unique and important document has never been published, though it occupies a prominent place in the history of Christian Missions in India, and though it was really the bed-rock on which the fabric of the Church Missionary Society was erected.

"*A Proposal for Establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Behar.*

"Sir,—To many who have not the honour of being known to you, as to us, it must afford much pleasure to hear that you do not think a subjection to the Gospel of

Christ inconsistent with the superior station you fill in life. With all the deference and respect we owe to such a station and such a Character, we now take the liberty to address you on a subject which, both in a religious and political view, we deem to be of vast Importance. It is the Propagation of Christianity in the Provinces under the Dominion of Great Britain in this part of India. Such a scheme wants Patrons to promote it, rather than Arguments to recommend it. Among all advantages accruing to Great Britain from the acquisition of Asiatic Territories, the power of introducing the Light of Truth among them, of making known to them the way of Everlasting Life, and the true source of temporal happiness, has hardly been mentioned; but assuredly on all the Principles of Revelation and Right Reason, this Talent, however overlooked in the Annals of Time, will appear conspicuously in the Records of Eternity. And all who make a just estimate of things must lament, that it has been so long and so greatly abused. We who reside in these Provinces, are so much impressed with this consideration on the one hand, and so sensible on the other of the benefits, civil as well as moral, which are lost from this criminal supineness, that we are at length induced to such a feeble Effort, as persons in our remote situation and private Condition can make, to draw attention to this subject. In this view we have formed, and now beg leave to submit to you, Sir, a Proposal for a Gospel Mission in this part of India. We offer it only as a draft open to such improvements as Friends to the Scheme may suggest, whether in the substance or the manner of it, which last we have adapted in a certain degree to the Temper which we apprehend may prevail among Europeans here in regard to any such scheme.

"We shall reckon it extremely happy, Sir, if what is offered in this Paper may so far confirm you in the belief of the present expediency and probable success of such a Scheme, as to induce you to give the Support of your Countenance and Patronage to it. On the Principles which encourage us to the liberty of addressing you, we cannot presume to doubt of your own good Will to it, nor your faith in the power of God; but we are apprehensive that, whenever the design is seriously agitated, it will be opposed by various objections, chiefly on the two

grounds just mentioned, of its expediency and success, and that these objections may obstruct the protection of Government, which we conceive to be extremely material to the laying of a broad foundation for this undertaking and the raising of a suitable superstructure.

"The truth, as we presume to think, is, that all objections to the extension of Christianity arise rather from Indisposition to the thing itself than any persuasion of its Impracticability. Some oppose it on the plea that Hindooism is a very good system, that is, that the few moral precepts which glimmer amongst an infinity of absurdities and enormities, are a sufficient Code for future happiness. Others may oppose political Considerations, the danger of disturbing the present Order of things, and of introducing a Spirit destructive of that subjection and Subordination, which have made the Natives of Bengal so easy to govern.

"May we be permitted, Sir, under all that respectful sense which we sincerely entertain of the Superiority of your Lights and Judgement, to express the apprehension which persons residing here have on these points?

"It is not for us to point out to you, Sir, that a Government which would withhold the knowledge of the True God and His Laws from the people, or, in other Words, refuse them happiness, must be both in such a Resolution and the motives to it unjust; all objections therefore, resting on a principle of this kind, carry in them their own Subversion; and if it were true that particular Circumstances could ever justify departure from the straight line of Rectitude, we may venture from our own observation to affirm that the notion of Government contained in the objection would be impolitic for this Country. We may venture to say further, that, as all right principles ultimately produce right Effects, so in fact the People of these Provinces in their present state are far from being easily governed, if that term means any thing more than keeping them from Insurrection and Revolt, and it may perhaps be affirmed that their Freedom hitherto in Bengal from these things, is to be accounted for, in part at least, from other causes.

"The People of it have, it is true, been long enslaved, but they entertain an hereditary aversion

to foreign Rulers. The great Landholders, who are a sort of Feudatories, are perpetually desirous of extending their Power, and love Anarchy, because it favours that propensity, and at least what they collect in such times from the Tenants under them they seldom account for. The late Commotion at Benares soon spread its contagion into Behar, and a few more successful turns on the part of Cheyt Sing might have made the mild passive Zemindars of Bengal lift up the Eye of Defiance. We are less united to the Natives than their Mahomedan Princes were, who were born under the same climate, perhaps in the country they ruled, had many of their ideas, and lived and died among them. The taxes they collected went back into Circulation, and the country had solid returns for its exported Industry, so that there was a continual abundance. In some measure those Princes supplied the want of a regular Administration of good Laws, by prompt and severe personal acts of Justice, which were influential in repressing Disorders in Society.

"Here the effect of our System of Government must form in their eyes a very disadvantageous Comparison. The constant export of the produce of the Country, without return, tends to hinder its improvement in Wealth, and that general effect is perceptible even to those who do not reason about causes; and as the mild equitable Spirit of our Laws and Government forbids arbitrary, and especially sanguinary, Acts of Power, so the summary kind of Justice that might sometimes result from this, is not supplied by a regular execution of it in the Courts of different kinds established throughout the Country, because Natives chiefly have hitherto been employed, and it has been found impracticable in our mode of Government, to make them act aright. In fact the People are universally and wholly corrupt, they are as depraved as they are blind, and as wretched as they are depraved, and to govern them and render them obedient and orderly upon right principles, is no easy Work. There has been much inquiry concerning the best system of managing the Country. It seems to us clear that no system which has not the Reformation of the morals of the People for its

basis can be effective; for they are lamentably destitute of those Principles of Honesty, Truth, and Justice which are necessary to the Well-being of Society. And to reconcile them to a Foreign dominion like Ours, it seems equally clear that We and they ought to have some *strong common Principles;* at present they are united to us neither in Interest nor in Sentiment.

"Those of the States around them are more congenial to them. *Religion* is that *common Principle*, the only just and durable one, that can be established between us; not the Religion of Error, but the Religion of Truth. If they were once converted to that, they would of course be freed from many ties which now connect them with their neighbours. Instead of desiring their Alliance, they would have to fear their enmity, and would then consider their own Welfare to consist in that separation from them, which must be the Desire and Security of our Government. The same Argument will apply in respect to any European invasion that can be supposed of this Country. As to contingencies that may in a political view be suggested in imparting to them the benefits of true Religion, they seem not to accord with the Character of the People any more than to spring from Right Principles. Christianity has less influence upon Physical than upon Moral qualities. Then Climate, Constitution, Manner of Living, and the Notions of Government which have in all times prevailed over Asia, produced a Character comparatively confined and Imbecile. Besides the wants of the People, the Productions of the Country can hardly ever come into opposition to ours. And as we are inclined to believe that there has been more of the appointment of God than of the Injustice of Man in bringing the Country under subjection to Great Britain, so we are persuaded that the only thing it has *not* to fear, is the communication of its Religion; and that even in a political view, there is more danger of losing the Country from leaving the dispositions and Prejudices of the People, in their present state, than from any change that the Light of Christianity and an improved state of Civil Society would produce in them.

"The Wonderful Dispensations of Providence, which have separated from the British Government, such a

portion of the Western Hemisphere, have here given a new and ample subject for its cares, by which its weight among the nations of the Earth, and its power of improving the happiness of the world may be continued. Had this subject been duly attended to twenty years ago, our Religion and our Language might now have been diffused among the Provinces, and many of the difficulties in the way of information and good Government would have been removed.

"Late as it is, this great object still remains within reach, and we cannot but be persuaded that it might prove the Solid Glory of his Majesty's Reign. Would it be too much for Subjects who are cordially devoted to him, and love that Glory, to hope that he might countenance such a Scheme? As the real difficulties in the way of it are few and inconsiderable, so in that case they would disappear. The Patronage of Government and a recommendation to the Administration here to countenance and protect the Work, and to afford Missionaries small portions of Land (of which there is much to spare) whereon to establish themselves, erect schools, and receive Converts, would be sufficient. The Company's Revenues would not be affected unless by being improved. Nothing like Compulsion to a change of Religion could be supported, but protection from Persecution, otherwise sure to be exercised against those who should preach, and those who should voluntarily renounce the Old Superstitions.

"In view of obtaining the support of Government to this Scheme, we have taken the liberty to address a Copy of the 'Proposal' to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and another to the Bishop of Llandaff; but for the promotion of the design among Christians in England, and the choice of persons of proper qualifications for the Mission, we have particularly addressed four London Ministers of eminence, Messrs Romaine, Newton, Foster, and Cecil, Men who, we think, will rejoice to exert themselves in forwarding the spread of the Gospel; and we have also requested the Reverend Mr Simeon of Cambridge, another man distinguished for his Zeal, to become an Agent for the Scheme and to aim at uniting whatever Interest can be engaged in support of it.

"May we hope, Sir, that you will be pleased to

afford him or any of the other Gentlemen an opportunity of conversing with you upon the subject, and if you should not have leisure to honour us with your Sentiments upon it, that we may be favoured with the communication of them through them. Especially if any Objections should appear to which we have not laid in answers, we should be glad to know and consider them. As to those that may be advanced against the success of the Scheme, they must be inconclusive from the nature of the thing, because only experiment can decide; but so far as Probabilities may be reasoned upon and afford conviction, we think that what is said in the proposal for the Mission, and occasionally in the course of this letter, shows them to be altogether in favour of the Scheme. One of the same kind under the Patronage of the King of Denmark has been long established on the Coast of Coromandel, where the Danes have neither Territory nor Influence, and numbers have been converted. Were the matter however dubious, as much may be gained and nothing can be lost, what shall hinder the attempt? But it is a duty to make it, and as such, all conjectural arguments against the success are superseded, and when that which is an obligation appears to be also practicable, as well as beneficial, Prejudice only, not Reason, can oppose it. We would not be understood to speak absolutely concerning an issue which is in the hands of God alone, but as it is a Work which he has commanded, so surely his favour may be expected on it, and since no objection can be urged, nor obstacles oppose it, but what Government may easily, safely, and profitably remove, so we cannot but repeat and close with an ardent wish, that its protection may be obtained; that you, Sir, may be an eminent instrument in this Work; and that his Majesty, in addition to the Example he gives his own subjects, may appear to distant Nations and Ages the Patron of that Religion, which giveth 'Glory to God on high, and on Earth peace, good-will towards men.'"

"CALCUTTA, 17*th September* 1787."

Raikes was prevented from conferring with Wilberforce on the subject on account of the illness of the latter; but he took a copy of the "Proposal" to Dr Porteus,

then Bishop of London, with whom he had a long conversation, an abstract of which is contained in the following letters to Grant:—

Thomas Raikes to Charles Grant.

LONDON, 5*th April* 1788.

Mr Wilberforce is of a very poor weak constitution; no ways equal to the active and virtuous Exertions of his Mind, and is just now gone to Bath to recover from a violent Sickness which had nearly carried him off. I am heartily sorry for it as I went to him on the Receipt of your letter, in the Intent of talking with him on the Subject of a Protestant Mission to Bengal as recommended by you, Mr Brown, Mr Chambers, &c. . . . I was wonderfully pleased with the Proposal, you now send me a copy of, on this Subject; and the letter you have written to Mr Wilberforce and the Heads of the Church on the Subject. Poor Mr Wilberforce's state of health will of course preclude him from taking an active part in the matter now; but when he recovers I doubt not of his attention to the Souls of the poor Natives of Indostan, who hath been busied for a year past in a scheme for bettering the Situation of the Negroes in the West Indies.

I wish one of the Letters had been addressed to Dr Porteus, late Bishop of Chester, but now of London; He is a most excellent man and a right Christian Bishop, from whom I expect as much good as an Individual can bring about in these degenerate times. I have the honour to be acquainted with the Bishop of London, and if I do not hear soon of something mentioned on the Subject by the Archbishop of Canterbury, I will myself wait on Bishop Porteus and apprize him of it. One thing I fear will impede the immediate progress; that the Clergymen who are mentioned on this side as the Promoters and Agents in the Scheme are of those who are called or supposed to be Methodists, the Bishops will be very shy of employing them, for though they may be, and I doubt not are, men of great Piety and strictest manners; they never like to give the reins into the hands of men of warm imaginations.

Thomas Raikes to Charles Grant.

ELTHAM, 5*th August* 1788.

. . . Respecting the matter of the Mission to Bengal; soon after I wrote you, I rode one Morning to the Bishop of London's at Fulham;—His Lordship was from home, but Mrs Porteus, whose Brother is a friend of our family, received me very civilly;—I explained a little of my business to Her;—and left with Her for the Bishop's Perusal, Your Plan, and the Copy of the Letter to Mr Wilberforce;—I went by appointment a few Days after to Breakfast, and found a very kind Reception from the Bishop.—He told me that He had read over the Papers, and was glad to find there were Men in the British East Indies of so religious a Turn, as the Promoters of this Scheme must be;—He said however that the Consideration of this matter must be brought forward by the Archbishop of Canterbury;—who He understood had received some Application on the Subject. As to himself, the Bishop said He had taken an active Part in the Measures which have lately been agitated towards improving the Mental as well as the Bodily Situation of the Negroes in our West Indies;—that He had gone so far in it as to find it become His peculiar Province;—that He had caused a work written by a Rev. Mr Duke, for instructing those poor Creatures in the Christian Religion, to be printed, and was then at work in sending copies round to the Clergy in those Parts;—but the Bishop observed that the established Clergy on our Islands were by no means sufficient in Number, for the Work there was to be done,—and that it was a Part of his Scheme to set on Foot a subscription to raise a sum for the support of a Number of additional Clergymen or Missionaries for this good Purpose; He thought that the uninstructed Natives in our own Dominions,—who had been so long under our Power, and so long neglected, had a claim to our first Attention and Care; — and although He could not but approve of such a Plan as you, Mr Brown and Your good fellow Labourers in the Cause, had proposed; — The Bishop acknow-

ledged it as His Wish, that it should not be brought forward to the Public, until the Means proposed for the service of the Negroes had been first tried.

This was the Event of my Application;—and I plainly perceive from it, — that The Archbishop of Canterbury will be easily persuaded to let your Cause rest, till The Bishop of London hath done all He can for the West:—even if He be ever inclined to take it up. But my Opinion of the Affair is, that nothing will be effectually done in your Scheme, until You come home;—or Mr Chambers;—when a Person of true Zeal in the Cause, and of local Experience to answer all Objections, and explain the Chances of Success, may by proper Introductions and Attention to the People in Power, get the business put into a right Train. In the course of my Conversation with the Bishop of London, I was very glad to find He did not raise that Objection which I started in my last;—as to the Character of the Gentlemen who had been mentioned as Agents for the Cause on this Side;—and in order to know His Lordship's Opinion on that Point, I mentioned it myself;—that I feared some Prejudice might be raised to the Mission on this account, The Bishop said it had no such Effect with Him,—for it must be Men of more than usual Warmth, who will be prevailed upon, to take up such a painful and laborious Pursuit.

Charles Grant to Thomas Raikes.

CALCUTTA, 10*th November* 1789.

The Rev. Mr Clarke informs me that among some dignitaries of the Church and the leading members of the Society for propagating Christianity, there is a sincere desire to promote the knowledge of the Gospel here, but that they are much at a loss how to proceed. I should have thought the draft of a Scheme sent from this place might have given leading ideas, as to what was to be done, how, where, and by whom; but it is probable things at this distance appear as through a mist, uncertain and indistinct. I shall be happy if any instances of mine at home prove of the least use, but should

think there must be reason to fear that an Indian advocate will act under some disadvantage.

No one could have taken greater pains than Mr Raikes to comply with the request made to him, and to advocate the cause entrusted to him to the utmost of his power. He would have consulted Mr Wilberforce, had the health of the latter permitted; and he showed the most praiseworthy diligence in attempting to influence Bishop Porteus. We only regret that his efforts in this direction were not more successful, for this prelate did much, especially in the early history of the Bible Society, for which the Church of Christ is deeply indebted to him.

The copy of the scheme which was forwarded to the Rev. Dr Gaskin, then Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, was submitted to the General Committee of that Society; and, as might be expected from those under whom Schwartz was then labouring in South India, was received with cordial satisfaction. They could not, however, see their way to give the scheme any assistance. Dr Gaskin wrote:—

"The Proposal has been listened to by the Mission Committee and by the General Board with peculiar satisfaction. They approve its plan, and admire the judgment and piety with which it has been drawn up, and only lament that it is not in their power to give full effect to your wishes. The hope, however, may be encouraged, that a time is shortly coming when effort for introducing the knowledge of Christ throughout your parts of India, may generally take place; and whereinsoever the Society can forward such designs, they will not be found wanting."

The copy of the "Proposal" sent to the Rev. John Newton was received, and shown by him to one of Grant's old Calcutta friends, George Livius, who had

settled near Bedford. Livius thus refers to it in a letter to Grant dated 6th August 1788:—

"The Rev. Mr Newton communicated to me the very interesting and heart-reviving plan drawn up by you and your worthy friends and brethren, Chambers, Udny, and Brown. I most cordially rejoice at the prospect there is of a British beginning under the Established Church for propagating the Gospel in Bengal and Behar. I pray God that your endeavours may be blessed in a particular manner, and that in the course of a very few years some fruits may appear among the poor, miserable Hindoos, and that they may be brought over to the marvellous light of the glorious Gospel. I would not suffer this opportunity to pass without thus taking the liberty to communicate to you my best wishes, and joining my prayers with yours for this truly great undertaking. 'Tis true I feel I can be of little or no use where interest with the great (especially the present Ministry) is concerned; but I can always join my feeble efforts among those who love the disciples of our blessed Lord and Saviour. I cannot help here suggesting to you that I wish your whole scheme had been entirely committed to Mr Wilberforce, who is a thoroughly awakened and sincere man. There are discouragements, but, God be praised, they are difficulties which can be cast aside by the Divine will, when the right time is arrived. The Lord grant that it may be now approaching, and that your endeavours and those of your worthy colleagues may be prosperous. . . . I had the satisfaction of being made acquainted with Mr Wilberforce about two years since. As I see him sometimes in the course of the winter, I shall not fail to urge in the best point of view I am able whatever may appear to me to be conducive to this great, this blessed object! . . . Mr Newton and family lately favoured us with a week's visit. He particularly impressed my mind to write to you. I heartily pray that the peace of God may accompany you and yours and the gentlemen connected with you, and that you may all daily and richly enjoy the blessed power of our dear Lord's grace in your hearts."

The persons, however, on whom the writers most relied, were the Rev. Charles Simeon and William Wilberforce—the one to influence the clergy, and the other the laity. It was generally supposed that the copy sent to the latter had been neglected. No reply was received. Nothing was heard about it till long afterwards. The reason for this was probably Wilberforce's state of health. The appeal, however, deeply touched him. In glancing over a recently published book about Wilberforce,[1] we found that, directly he had received it, he had placed it in the hands of Pitt, then Prime Minister of England. "Your plan," Pitt wrote on 25th June 1788, "of a mission to Bengal, I mention only to show the punctuality of answering your letter, as you reserve discussion till we meet." In acknowledging Simeon's letters on the subject, dated February and May 1788, Brown refers to Wilberforce, evidently showing that Simeon had heard from him, and had received his approval of the scheme. "What you tell us," Brown says, "of Mr Wilberforce's readiness to assist in this work, as well as of the two young men who are willing to become missionaries, greatly comforts and refreshes us."[2]

We would here observe that David Brown seems to have been just as strong an advocate as Grant was for the protection and patronage of Government. He wrote two years later:—

"In every mission scheme for Bengal, the protection of Government is indispensably requisite. Nothing can be urged from the progress of the missions on the Coromandel Coast. The people, country, and Government are widely different from those of Bengal, the Governor of which is like the head to the body, in a

[1] *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, p. 20. London, Fisher Unwin, 1897.

[2] *Memorial Sketches of the Rev. David Brown*, p. 244. London, 1816.

more clear and intimate manner than, perhaps, is known in any other country: whatever is undertaken without his permission must wither and die. Those who live in England, remote from the springs of Government, will be hardly able to comprehend this. To us it is very clear."[1]

Undoubtedly the copy sent to Simeon was the most fruitful of all. It was very important, both in its immediate and its ultimate results. It led Simeon to take an interest in India. It stirred him to take an interest in foreign missionary work. It led his mind into the line of thought which originated the Church Missionary Society. It so influenced his heart that he was led to form the plan which resulted in the choice of many spiritually-minded men for the position of Government Chaplains in India, and which proved the greatest blessing to the people of the country as well as to the English residents.[2]

A long letter from Brown to Simeon, written from Calcutta in 1789, shows how pleased he and the others were with the replies they had received from him. He begins by saying: "We are very thankful for the information you have sent us respecting the mission papers. By your account we learn that, although success may be doubtful, the matter has not fallen to the ground, but that exertions have been made to bring it forward." There is no need to quote more from this letter. We know that the scheme itself really did fall to the ground, but that the cause it advocated did not, and that even better and fuller results than were anticipated were accomplished. This cause still occupied the thoughts and prayers of David Brown and Charles Grant. In Brown's letters of this period such passages as these frequently occur:

[1] *Memorial Sketches of the Rev. David Brown*, p. 243.

[2] *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Rev. C. Simeon*, p. 60. By the Rev. W. Carus. Third edition. Hatchards, 1848.

"Some who fear God in this country have joined in proposing a mission, and I have been busied some time in drawing up papers relative to this business, and hope you will pray that the Lord may prosper this work with His blessing."[1]

Writing to Dr Thomas, who was then at Malda, on 19th February 1788, Grant reverts again to the subject which so continually occupied his thoughts. He said :—

"A Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was sitting upon 'the consideration of the most likely means of promoting the Gospel in Asia,' and had entered into correspondence with the Court of Directors, particularly recommending to them the institution of English Schools in the principal centres under their jurisdiction. They received an encouraging answer. The Bishops of Salisbury and Chester were of the Committee. The former went himself to the Chairman of the Directors. It appears they have a very good will at home, but want light and information."

It has been seen how anxious the projectors of this scheme were to enlist the good offices of Government in order that protection might be afforded to any converts who might embrace Christianity. Accordingly Grant solicited an interview with Lord Cornwallis on the subject. The Governor-General received his representations kindly, but requested Grant to put his views into writing, when he would give the matter his best attention. This was done. His Lordship gave the only reply which a statesman in his position could be expected to give—he would not oppose the scheme, but he could not, as Governor-General, give it his active support.

Charles Grant was a great admirer of Schwartz. He became acquainted with the character and work of that

[1] *Memorial Sketches*, pp. 231, 243.

remarkable man through William Chambers, but never met him. Schwartz, having heard from Chambers the particulars of Grant's conversion, wrote him a most sympathetic letter, which, with a subsequent letter, was printed in Dean Pearson's *Memoirs* of his life.[1] We now publish Grant's replies to these letters, and a farewell letter written on the eve of his departure from Calcutta. It must have been most gratifying to him to be in the position to state, on leaving Calcutta, that a visible improvement was discernible in the appearance of religious affairs there, and that the state of society had considerably changed for the better. No small portion of this improvement was, we are persuaded, due, under God, to his own personal influence and example.

Charles Grant to the Rev. C. F. Schwartz.

MALDA, *November* 1785.

I most cordially wish success to your zealous endeavours to make Christ, His Word, and glorious salvation more known. Our people have in that view had an immense talent put into their hands, but they have altogether slighted and neglected it, they have signally departed from God, and He hath in the face of the universe shown His displeasure against them. I pray that we do not provoke Him to make an utter end with us, as He did with the apostate Kingdom of Israel ; either this, or more chastisement, and, perhaps, on this eastern scene of our offences, we may expect. There are, I would hope, still many true Christians in Britain ; but, in our public management, Religion seems to have lost all influence. Perhaps the great Lord of the Harvest may be stirring up new Labourers, may be preparing new supports, as the zeal of former labourers decays. I allude particularly to the Society, whose late proceedings cannot but give concern to every well-wisher to the cause they propose to aid. If God should please to send me to

[1] *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Schwartz*, by Dean Pearson. Third edition, vol. ii. pp. 6, 24. Hatchard & Son, 1839.

Europe, I should certainly be at pains in trying whether anything could be done with that Body, or the leading men of it. In the meantime, if I can, by pecuniary helps or otherwise, assist your undertakings on the Coast, in the establishment of Schools, and in other charities, I entreat you will fully tell me, and believe that I consider my concurring in such services as my duty. I have not troubled you, Dear Sir, with a long Letter, and shall only add the cordial salutation of the little community here, particularly my Wife's, who is exceedingly thankful for your kind attention to her, and most sincerely joins her best wishes to her esteem. We request the continuance of your remembrance of us, and of our little folks, who are coming forward into a bad world. Mr Obeck, whose bodily health, though pretty good, is, I reckon, less prosperous than that of his soul, desires his most affectionate respects to you.

Charles Grant to the Rev. C. F. Schwartz.

MALDA, 15*th August* 1786.

Your kind and instructive Letter of March last merited an earlier reply from me; but it found me at Calcutta, unsettled and in the midst of hurry, where, however, I was detained so long that we are but about a fortnight seated in our old residence again. Here, upon a retrospect to the time I last wrote to you, I find abundant reason to bless God for amended health, and many other mercies; and, as it is too natural to add, abundant reason also to acknowledge that I have not done according to the benefits rendered unto me. Your Letter has truly explained the source of my former troubles, as well as of the manifold defects which still remain. It is Pride, the grand characteristic of the fallen Nature, ever seeking its own gratification in some shape or other. You have told me also the best remedy against it—looking unto Jesus, waiting upon Him, in watchfulness, for poverty of spirit, and the sense and influence of His Love. The anecdote of Mr Francke is a sweet illustration of this course. It speaks strongly to go and do likewise, and I am thoroughly persuaded that a similar practice would carry the soul above entanglements; but to this practice

and all that it implies and requires, how reluctant is a carnal heart! It loves not to dwell upon its own misery, nor the evil there is in sin—to realise to itself the power, malice, and activity of its spiritual enemies—to feel itself perpetually poor, blind, and naked; nor under the strong convictions of guilt to trust in a free salvation. It grows weary of walking under the humbling mercies of free grace; it would basely presume upon them, or turn careless, and by that road fall into the World again—that World, the business, and specially the prosperity, of which is so dangerous a temptation. It opposes setting the affections on things above, and putting off self; in short, it is dull to apprehend the divine glory of Jesus, the necessity, worth, availableness of His sacrifice—the necessity of living on Him—of coming to Him continually as wretched, of trusting Him continually as poor. It is He alone who can give will and power to do in this matter. May my wants be more effectually impressed on my mind, and my application to Him more earnest! The sense of daily failures weakens my hands. I want the happy power of trusting more in the bare Word of God, and wielding in all cases this sword of the Spirit.—My dear Sir, you who have consecrated your days to the peculiar service of God—though you have, indeed, the same nature, and are pleased to think you find your own experience in some of my descriptions, can hardly know the struggles and failures of one long entirely, and still too much, given up to the World. It is, however, an advantage to me that I have your advice and your prayers. I hope you will continue them, and pray especially that I may have a stronger sense of eternal things, be raised above the World, and prepared for the great day of the Lord.

In Calcutta we had the happiness of seeing an unexpected thing—an Evangelical minister from England, lively, zealous, truly pious, and withal experienced, though young. Mr Chambers will have given you an account of him, and the immediate object of his coming, the charge of the Orphan Establishment, Calcutta. Mr Brown, however, is a man of large views, and longs to spread the Gospel, both among Europeans and natives. He is come from the midst of the lights that now shine in England, which he says are many, and draw multitudes after them, though the bulk of the nation

seems too ripe for destruction. He is of a society of young men eminently religious, whom God hath raised up in the University of Cambridge, where, in general, they have departed far from the truth, and he is warmed particularly with a desire, common he says to that society, to make the Gospel known among the Hindoos. He, Mr Chambers, and I, with our good friend Obeck, had various conversations towards digesting a scheme for setting on foot a mission to this country. We made some progress, and he was to write to his pious friends to dispose them, and prepare them for co-operation against we should send in our materials and proposals by the following ships. Perhaps it may please God to make use of such a feeble attempt. We think it some token for good that such a man is sent to this country, that such excellent persons are found at home, and that, as he assures us, the leading Gospel ministers in England, who have very extensive influence, will gladly give their assistance to the scheme.

I took the liberty to write to you before as to an indulgent friend. I find myself still prone to consider you as such; and, therefore, add that it has pleased God to keep me since from any relapse into the severe disorder with which I was afflicted; but my wife has just had a fever, with a renewal of other ailments of the chronic kind, showing by their degree a constitution less and less capable of struggling against this climate; and here seems to be a powerful motive, in addition to those I mentioned before, for my speedy removal from this country. Our friend Obeck intends writing you soon, and I am sure remembers you with the greatest affection and respect, as indeed all our Community does.

Charles Grant to the Rev. C. F. Schwartz.

CALCUTTA, 31*st January* 1790.

I am now about to leave this country, and cannot do so without a line of salutation to you. You have long been in my affection, often in my thoughts, and it has doubtless been no small loss to me that my correspondence with you has not been more frequent. Many avocations and distractions, with the great distance

between us, will partly plead my excuse. I trust I have been enabled to go on making still an appearance on the Lord's side, though a mean one, and desiring, indeed, to have my portion with Him and His people; or, rather, to have Himself for all my salvation. For the last three years I have resided at this capital, in a more ostensible situation than I looked for; my thoughts are now to retirement, to look less myself on the things which are temporal, and to bring up a large family in the knowledge and care of those which are eternal. I trust I leave the cause of Christ on the advance in this quarter. You have heard of the issue of all Mr Kiernander's worldly schemes in his flight from Calcutta, and the consequent necessity of making a purchase of his Church for the uses of Religion, to prevent the disgrace and loss of its being publickly sold and secularised. Mr Brown officiated in it two years. He is a pious, judicious, valuable man, with very solid and useful ministerial gifts. The Mission Church has been surprisingly attended, and though few saving fruits are yet known, yet there is a visible alteration in externals, and the face of outward profession is changed much for the better, which, we trust, is only an advance to further good. We had a design of an extensive Mission among the heathen in these provinces. It is relished at home, and we hear only wants to be set in motion by some that are in credit and able to answer objections. If I can be of any use in this way after my arrival in England, it is what I wish and propose. I have sent home my name as a subscriber to the Society, and mean to attend their meetings. Will you do me the favour to write me, my dear Sir, all that is in your heart,—all, at least, that you would choose to say about Mission affairs, and I shall certainly be desirous to make the best use of it; and rather I would wish you at once to tell me what you would advise me to do by way of stirring or of finding zeal for the propagation of the Gospel in the quarter where you labour, as well as here. May your work be greatly blessed, as I doubt not your reward is with the Lord.

CHAPTER VII

MISSION AT GUMALTI

A.D. 1787 TO 1790

Desire to found a Mission at the village of Gumalti—Connection with Dr Thomas—Dr Thomas's character—His early career—Grant's first intercourse with him—Letters to Mrs Grant—Offer of Thomas to remain in Bengal as a missionary—His desire to be a pastor to Europeans—Gives up his position as surgeon on board an Indiaman—Grant engages him as a missionary for Gumalti—Obeck objects—Departure of Thomas for Malda—Harmony there—Dissensions regarding baptism—Unpleasant correspondence—Rupture with Chambers and Brown—Thomas declines to reside at Gumalti—Attempted translation of St Matthew's Gospel into Bengali—Financial embarrassment of Thomas—Offer from Grant to relieve him if he agrees to reside at Gumalti—Continues to decline—Final breach between him and Grant—Opinion of his biographer—Letters from Grant on the subject—Regret for the conduct of Thomas.

We now come to an episode in Grant's life which we desire to describe with the lightest touch, and which we would have gladly omitted. We refer to the connection between himself and Dr Thomas. Mention has been made of Grant's design to establish an effective Mission among the villagers and the labourers in his own factory at Gumalti. But unhappily he entrusted the scheme to the wrong person. His connection with Thomas caused him much anxiety and annoyance; brought him into many unexpected difficulties; and prevented the plan which he had carefully thought out from being brought to a successful conclusion. His intercourse with Thomas, however, occupied so large

a portion of Grant's attention during his life at Calcutta, and a rather one-sided version of the facts of the case having been given in the *Life of John Thomas*, it is necessary to make some mention of the circumstances connected with it. There is much to admire in Thomas's character. He was a man of a warm, but excitable, temperament, with a sincere love for our Lord and Master, and a hearty longing for the extension of His kingdom; but he was, in several ways, incompetent and mistaken. He possessed no aptitude for business, and was unable to manage the simplest financial affairs. His heart was right, but his head was wrong. His mind was, in fact, unevenly balanced.

Dr Thomas, when Grant became acquainted with him, was surgeon of the *Earl of Oxford* Indiaman. He had been to India twice, and he had boldly maintained the profession of Christianity in the uncongenial position of an officer serving on board one of the East India Company's ships. On his first visit to Calcutta he tried in vain to discover a Christian man. On his second visit he was more successful. He was invited to stay with George Udny's brother Robert, with whom Grant was then residing. Grant felt very much drawn towards him. His religious experience and conversation and his genial manner were attractive. The first notice of him in Grant's Journal occurs on 17th December 1786, the day after he reached Calcutta, when summoned thither by Lord Cornwallis.

"I found Bob Udny well," he wrote, "and I have seen Dr Thomas, with whom he has contracted an intimacy, a man of eminent grace and gifts, highly sanctified, and rich in the word of God, constant in it, full of spiritual life and matter, edifying in discourse, cheerful from a sense of saving interest in Christ, and from love to God, mighty in prayer—forms he never uses—the Bible and the spiritual heart and experience are his store-house."

In his letters to his wife, he was equally enthusiastic. On 1st January 1787 he wrote :—

"I send you one of Dr Thomas's notes to Bob Udny, whereby you may judge of his knowledge in the mystery of Christ. I have seen nothing like him. His converse and example are most instructive."

As time passed on Grant became more and more impressed by Thomas's growth in the spiritual life, and by his fitness for undertaking a Mission among the people of Bengal.

"We have still," he wrote in his Journal on 4th January 1787, "the benefit of Dr Thomas's conversation and prayers, and a wonderful result issues from our acquaintance. He is now determined to stay in the country, go up to Malda, and preach the Gospel to the heathen. He was previously much pressed in spirit, has prayed for divine guidance, and I hope God is with him."

It will be just if, in connection with these negotiations, we should see Thomas's side of the question.

"The proposal," wrote his biographer, "that he himself should become a missionary was without doubt very gratifying to Mr Thomas. It was the cherished desire of his heart to be a minister of the Gospel, and he firmly believed it to be God's purpose to make him useful to many souls. . . . Yet at first he thought it quite impossible that he could accede to a suggestion encumbered with so many difficulties." Referring to his being invited to speak at their meetings, Dr Thomas wrote: "I have begun to speak in this country, and with power. Mr Grant and almost half of the few saints here are shackled, but their bars are almost broken asunder by what is revealed concerning the grace of the Gospel and entanglements of the law. They have received it well; only they try me with too much commendation."

His ship was still in harbour, and he received a very clear intimation from the Captain that he was neglecting his duties by remaining so long on shore. He had

certainly been often absent from his ship, and had been in continual intercourse with Robert Udny and Chambers before Grant's arrival.

During these negotiations, Thomas went on board his ship, with the object of ascertaining whether he could be released from his engagement, and thus be placed in a position enabling him to remain in the country. At first he was disinclined to do anything more than preach to Europeans; but he had contracted a strong dislike to his duties on board, and after some consideration, which had deeply affected him, he felt that he had received a divine call to missionary labours among the heathen. He was set free on 16th February, just three days before Grant returned to Calcutta in his new appointment. Thomas remained at Calcutta for some weeks after he had procured release from his medical duties on board ship. He began the study of the Bengali language, and he joined in the usual religious exercises with his friends; but, although he was perfectly aware what Grant's idea regarding his future employment was, he was himself very anxious to remain where he was as pastor to his European acquaintances. Grant's plan for him, however, was that, after he had acquired a competent knowledge of Bengali at Malda, he was to live at Gumalti. This village contained some two hundred families, chiefly labourers in the indigo factory. Being situated in the midst of the ruins of ancient Indian architecture, it was overrun by the most luxuriant jungle and a dense undergrowth of Oriental vegetation. Some idea of the wildness of the place and the beauty of these magnificent ruins can be obtained from an examination of drawings made of them by Mr Henry Creighton, who was for many years manager of the estate.[1]

[1] *The Ruins of Gour Described, and Represented in Eighteen Views*, compiled from manuscripts and drawings of the late H. Creighton. London, Black, Parbury, & Allen, 1817.

When Grant first mentioned his design, Obeck took immediate alarm; and foreseeing that difficulties were likely to arise, he wrote a letter of warning to his master, distinctly pointing out to him the fact that, while Thomas would be welcomed at Malda as an individual Christian, he would, as he had not been ordained, find himself in a false position there, if he attempted to act as a minister. It was, however, too late for Grant to draw back from his engagement, even if he had desired to do so; but he was fascinated by Thomas's personality, and looked forward with confidence and hope to the success of his long-cherished scheme.

Thomas left Calcutta on 7th May 1787, but he did not reach Malda until 18th June, owing to the illness of Robert Udny, who was his companion on the journey. The society there was very much the same as when Grant left. Udny occupied the position which he had held as head of affairs at Malda, the manager of the commercial business, and the father of "the family." Udny was a decided Christian, an excellent man of business, and a most genial companion. His assistants were much attached to him. In August, "the family" was graced by the presence of Mrs Udny, who had come from England to reside with her son George; and, from time to time, Robert Udny, who generally lived at Calcutta, joined the party. Thomas seems at first to have been particularly impressed by the harmony that prevailed in the household which he had entered. He had been there scarcely a year, however, when he began to dwell on the disputed question of infant baptism, which led to heart-burning and dissensions. Udny, gently but firmly, objected to this subject being discussed, and Grant wrote to him and Thomas, most strongly objecting to this controversy being introduced. Thomas, though he had himself begun it, exhibited a good deal of temper, and resented any difference from his own

opinions. During the interval that had elapsed since he had left Calcutta he had written two controversial epistles to Chambers, which had the effect of completely alienating from him the goodwill of Chambers and Brown. Grant's feeling regarding the course which matters were taking at Malda will be seen from the following letters :—

Charles Grant to George Udny.

CALCUTTA, 1*st April* 1788.

The Doctor has sent me his discourse on the Eunuch's Confession. The Godhead of Christ is the life of the Church on Earth, and will be their theme of praise and wonder through Eternity. I shall tell our friend, however, freely my wish that he had rather confined himself to this glorious subject without introducing the much controverted, and comparatively small one, of Baptism, that is, the mode of Baptism in which all the Reformers, and generally the Church of Christ from the early ages, have been agreed. If Preachers and Expositors are to guide us in this matter, that is, if we are to be influenced by men, the brightest names among those who have figured since the revival of true religion, with, I believe, all the Churches in Christendom, are on the side of infant baptism, and we know that the practice of the Jewish Church in circumcising at the age of eight days was similar. I do not take this at all up as a matter of controversy, but in the view of preventing unnecessary distinctions, separations, and troubles among the little flock in this country who call on the name of the Lord Jesus, and because of that name may expect tribulation on the one hand, and to be led by His Word and Spirit into all necessary truth on the other.

Charles Grant to John Thomas.

CALCUTTA, 1*st May* 1788.

You draw discouraging conclusions respecting the introduction of the Gospel among the heathen, because the European professors are so few, and, as you judge,

of poor stature. I acknowledge the description to suit me, but supposing it suited others also, does your success depend on the characters of men, or on the power of God? You know well that without His increase even Paul may plant and Apollos water in vain. You treated an important subject in your discourse on Acts viii. 37, and, I hope, I read it not without benefit. Humble and unreserved and particular confession of sin is wholesome to the soul, most meet and necessary. It lays open its diseases and desperate maladies. In the Son of God, God manifest in the flesh, we have the only, the effectual remedy. Well might He be called Wonderful.

I confess to you freely I did not read with equal ease and pleasure what you added in this discourse on disputed tenets respecting the mode of being baptized into Him. . . . Whatever certainty some Christians may think they possess of the Scriptural truth of their opinion concerning Baptism, yet it is plain, in fact, that it must be different either in nature or degree from that which the soul receives respecting justification, original sin, etc., as to which every true believer cannot but have the same opinion, and there is but one opinion in the real Church of Christ. It has, as we see, pleased God to permit some uncertainty in the Church regarding the matter, as there was in the minds of many in the Apostles' days concerning other things, the rule as to which was that they should not be made subjects of dispute, consequently, as it seems, not insisted on in public ministrations. These considerations seem particularly worthy of regard when the Gospel is, as it were, barely introduced, and there is the desire of extending it to the Heathen.

It behoves all who are interested in this work to consider seriously both the tendency and the necessity of every principle they advance and step they take. There can be little reason to doubt that setting up the peculiarities of the Baptists here would be the way not only to have nominal Christians against you, but even some of those who are sincere, and those of the Established Church, and many at home might be cooled. Now it remains with you solemnly to consider what you do in this case. It is not taking up the Cross of Christ to provoke danger and create difficulties unnecessarily.

You mentioned to the little congregation at Malda, that you were ready to take up your cross on account of the doctrine concerning Baptism. The occasion for such a declaration to them does not appear, unless it was your meaning to persevere in inculcating the doctrine. I most earnestly wish, therefore, that you may be duly guided. I own I have myself no conviction of the necessity of discoursing publicly in that way to persons whom there is reason to think sincere believers, and who have already been baptized in that way in which all the National Protestant Churches since the Reformation, and the most shining lights among them, have preferred.

I beg you will receive what I have written here as I wish to give it, in perfect charity, allowing me credit for a right intention where you differ. Christians have points of such unspeakable weight in which they are or should be agreed, that it is departing from their principles if any others can excite animosity.

One of the assistants was re-baptized by Thomas, and finding after this, that his relations with the other residents at Malda were not so cordial as they had once been, Thomas, of his own accord, went for a time, to Gumalti, that he might there obtain relaxation and rest. This was just the place whither Grant had originally intended him to go, and had agreed to maintain him for work there after he had learned the language at Malda. Dr Thomas, however, did not remain there very long; and when Grant insisted that he should return thither, he conceived a violent aversion to the place. Undoubtedly Gumalti was not an ideal locality for a European to live in; but it was the one spot for which Grant wanted a resident missionary, and it was, therefore, the place to which duty pointed. Grant distinctly expressed his views on this point in the following letter, and also his opinion regarding Thomas's claim to be the accepted pastor of the little community at Malda.

Charles Grant to George Udny.

CALCUTTA, 25*th April* 1789.

As to the occurrences in your community, they have excited my extreme surprise and concern. I think the Doctor's procedure, his pretensions, and the manner in which he has urged them, indefensible. It appears from the date of his letter to the Baptist Ministers that he had not been above a month at Malda before he speculated upon a pastoral charge, and this apparently not of converted heathens, but European Christians. The same design is fully unfolded by his late endeavours to obtain a call from the community at Malda to be their Pastor, at the same time that he was to continue a Missionary to the heathen. How he can justify so early a departure from the professed purpose for which he stayed, and has been supported in this country; how such a strict connection as was to be formed between the Minister and people could consist with the duties and labours of a Missionary, I am indeed at a loss to know. It seems plain that either the office of a stated pastor to a European congregation, or of a Missionary to heathens, must be the principal and all others merely accessory, and that two essential lines, each requiring the main devotedness of the heart and life, cannot co-exist.

Touching only on more obvious points, I am next led to the Doctor's carriage towards you, and in the exercise of the ministerial function. I believe nothing has in general been thought more blamable, indeed what can well be more shocking, than the introduction of one's own unhallowed tempers and animosities into the solemn work of administering the word and leading in the worship of God? What can be more unlike the character of a Minister of Christ than a disposition to lord it over God's heritage, to tyrannise over their faith, than being violent, intolerant, a denouncer of vengeance for conscientious conduct and conscientious opinions? I never heard of such pretensions in any of the most eminent servants of Christ since Apostolic times as the Doctor claims for the ministerial character. A man had need to have good evidence not only of being a Minister of Christ, but of his speaking

immediately from Him, to require that awful subjection of soul, that implicit submission of the understanding which the Doctor would impose. And in what and to whom? In things, to say the very least, questionable, and to a person palpably under the influence of tempers unsuitable to the Gospel.

You had indeed a difficult part to act at the crisis which preceded his going off from you. I am glad that you were enabled to demean yourself with the temper of a Christian. I think you showed the utmost consideration for him which the case admitted. He was sent to you without your own instrumentality, and is removed in the same way.

You have observed that he is no economist, loves company and conversation, and is not calculated to endure hardships. These, with other things which have appeared, leave me, I confess, very little expectation of success in the Mission; and though I would not for such a poor consideration as the saving of his salary, relinquish the very smallest chance of doing any good, yet I really am much actuated at present by compassion for his situation, that is as to the salary and as to other concessions, partly by the fear of his running into more eccentricity than he has yet done.

The connection with the Factory is to you especially and to the people there an important consideration. For the sake of mutual peace and edification, I think that his continuing to preach among you should be on the condition of his never agitating the subject of Baptism, and that every idea of acting as a pastor should be excluded. In short, I think you ought to take proper precautions against being entangled in anything like the situation from which you have been lately freed. I should be glad to see him once set his face fairly and singly to Mission work, and then to see his conduct and the effect.

Concerning the Doctor's connection with me, I think it irrefragably proved that he set out for Malda, knowing that he was to reside at Gumalti. His having never been at the place, his not meaning to tie himself to that place, will never obliterate that footing of Consent and Agreement, on which, without objection, he undertook the office and accepted the salary of a

Missionary. That consent and agreement with respect to Gumalti I think he cannot recall, unless I concur, without breaking the mutual engagement between him and me, and as I judge it the best place for the seat of a Mission, I am not at liberty to prefer any other place, nor consequently to consent to that recall.

Thomas very soon entertained the idea of translating the New Testament into Bengali; but he began this intensely arduous labour before he had become sufficiently proficient in the language to do it well. Grant appreciated this effort; but he knew how difficult it was, and kindly gave him some salutary warning and advice on the subject.

Charles Grant to John Thomas.

CALCUTTA, 1*st May* 1788.

You have in your translation undertaken a great work: may you be guided in it. I remember mentioning to my brother that Mr Chambers, whose skill in the Persian language was well known, had begun a translation of the Gospels into it. He was greatly impressed with the idea, and replied emphatically that it was no easy task to translate the Word of God. To get the true idiom of the language into which it is rendered is of great importance, because, where this is wanting, the natives in that language are disgusted. I mention these things not to oppose a good design, but to suggest care and caution. Mr Chambers has still that translation of his in hand, and, I believe, is carrying on a Bengalese one at the same time. I doubt not that, so far as it goes in either language, it is correct, and must in time be useful. If after bestowing all due pains to render the sense exactly, you could get two or three learned Hindoos to revise the copy, to see whether they well understand it, and to supply the idiom where it is wanting, I think it might be of use; but, even after this, I would not be forward to advise a very general

publication until more time has matured your own knowledge. In the meantime, such an exercise must be one of the best ways of advancing in the language.

Afterwards, when Thomas insisted on having his translation of St Matthew's Gospel printed, Grant declined to give him any assistance and the project failed for want of financial help.

Though he lacked the slightest capacity for managing commercial pursuits, Thomas attempted to retrieve his faded fortune by entering into speculations; and, notwithstanding the salary which he received from Grant and the help which he obtained from George Udny, he became hopelessly entangled in debt. At one time both these kind friends endeavoured to release him from this embarrassment; but he could not refrain from writing to Grant strongly worded letters, and, at length, he went so far as to decline any further acquaintance with one who had proved himself so generous a benefactor. Even his biographer was compelled to record his surprise that Thomas did not consider his conduct both "anomalous and extraordinary" in actually ceasing acquaintance and correspondence with the patron from whom he still continued to receive his means of support.[1] As Thomas afterwards was the first accepted agent of the Baptist Missionary Society, and went to Bengal as the colleague of William Carey, and as Dr Carey expressed great indignation against Grant for the share he had taken in inducing Thomas to relinquish his position as Surgeon, and to undertake mission work,[2] we think it right to give Grant's own version of his connection with Thomas. We much regret the part played by the latter in these transactions; but it appears to us

[1] *The Life of John Thomas*, p. 133. London, Macmillan, 1863.

[2] *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.*, by Eustace Carey, p. 265. London, Jackson & Walford, 1836.

clear that he was manifestly in the wrong, and that his behaviour would have been quite inexcusable without the explanation to which we have referred, namely, that he was not always responsible for his actions. The end of his career proves this assertion, because it was for a time found necessary to place him under restraint.[1] As he persisted in declining to live and work at Gumalti, Grant, who was then on the eve of his departure for England, was reluctantly obliged to cease his supplies. The following is Grant's statement:—

Charles Grant to John Thomas.

CALCUTTA, 25*th February* 1789.

Concerning the propriety of quitting the calling in which you were, and the station you occupied in the *Oxford*, of your remaining separate from your family, and concerning the state of your affairs, and the provision you could make for your family and creditors; on none of these, as points of duty, did you consult me, neither did I advise, nor inquire farther than in a general way, after you declared your determination for staying. You showed yourself so well persuaded, both in respect to them all, and likewise in respect to an extraordinary influence upon your mind directing you to the measure of staying, that I went no farther into that matter as a question of duty. This, I think, you will recollect to be the state of the case; and will, therefore, admit that, if loss or distress ensues in regard to any of those circumstances, the responsibility rests upon yourself.

As another point has been agitated between us, whether or not I gave you a *Call*, I judge the present a fit occasion to say something about it. May not the whole matter be reduced to this—did I or you begin the circumstances you term "a Call" with a fact, which might be thought to imply that I

[1] *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.*, by Eustace Carey, p. 445. London, 1836. *The Life of William Carey*, by George Smith, LL.D. C.I.E., p. 162. London, Murray, 1887.

had by another person made you such a proposal? "One evening," you say, "Mr R. Udny told me that you had expressed a desire for my staying with you to preach to the natives." I beg that he may be asked, whether he reported this as a matter of conversation and opinion, or spoke in virtue of a commission given him by me to propose to you to stay. This will clear up the only appearance there is of treating with you by proxy. Did he tell you that he had authority from me thus to treat with you? You yourself do not affirm that he did. In the same letter you state the particulars of your first discourse with me on the subject, though I do not remember them all exactly as you do, and I recollect others which you do not mention. "Mr Udny," you say, "told me some time ago, that you had mentioned something about my staying in the country to preach to the natives." This something which I said, may have been matter of conversation and opinion only, and your next question to me, as there related, seems to make it so, viz. "Are you still of the same opinion?" You show also that it was an opinion expressed twenty-five days before, and that I proceeded no farther respecting it.

Next as to speaking to you myself, the sequel of your account of 12th September shows that, instead of my opening the subject to you, you first opened it to me. I was about to leave Calcutta with hardly the expectation of seeing you again till your ship should be near sailing, yet I continued silent. At this period, just as I was parting from you, you unexpectedly opened the subject to me; otherwise, for anything I know, the matter would for ever have rested where it was, when you in so plain a manner, and, may I add, to my wonder, showed your desire to stay, and thus put me in a situation that required I should either agree to it, or discourage it. I then found myself upon new and different ground. There had been a scheme agitated for a Mission. The papers about it you had read, and they were on the table before us. Was it for me, one of the persons concerned in this scheme, and wishing the spread of the Gospel, to decline receiving you, when you disclosed your desire to undertake the work? I, therefore, did (though not without inward hesitation) close with your offer. My affirmative answer to your question, whether

I was of the same opinion, only meant that I still avowed the sentiments I expressed to Robert Udny; but I did not say they were a proposal. Your offer, as I have just stated, was the thing that determined me, and I must own that the ground on which you proceeded on that offer, of an "extraordinary influence on your mind," as it imposed respect upon me, did also suspend some discussions which I might otherwise have thought natural on so important a matter, and induced an acquiescence more passive than fully satisfied.

You quote two expressions from my letter of July last, which, you think, acknowledge that I gave you a Call, to wit, "I proposed to send you to Malda." "My motive for sending you to Malda was that you might preach to the Heathen." The scope of these passages is to show the design of sending you. True, they do say you were sent, but you know you were not sent till you had first proposed to go. Till then I neither declared nor resolved that I would send you. Farther, in describing the circumstances which you term "a Call," you add this observable phrase, "Perhaps it was Robert Udny." Dear Sir, how is it that you contend the point with me, till you have first ascertained whether it was my Call or not? how is it such a point was not cleared up at the time? And what is your notion of "a Call," if you think one can be given you by Robert Udny, or, indeed, by any individual, at least if he were not a person in public authority? I allow that you had, from the opinions and discourses among us at that time, encouragement to think of staying, and I know you had; but a distinction is to be made between this and an actual proposal to stay. To such an actual proposal I never agreed, because I did not find myself warranted to go so far.

Residence among the people seemed essential to the work and success of a Missionary. I suggested to you last July that you should take up your abode at Gumalti. This is consonant to the original design, and I hope you will now have no objection to conform to it. It is connected with the question about the state of your affairs, which I am now obliged to hasten to and despatch, for my supporting you in your present line can only be justified by the view of, or, at least, the utmost endeavour for, some success; and, depending on your acquiescence, I have agreed to advance you

£250 more for the satisfaction of your creditors. A bill for this sum I now send Mr Udny. There may still, with this contribution, remain a balance due to your creditors; but they will receive as much as they would, had you gone home yourself, and it is to be hoped your friends here may enable you to pay the remainder as soon as you could have done by taking another voyage.

We leave this letter to speak for itself. We wish to do full justice to Dr Thomas. He was the first, not only to desire, but to carry out, a Mission to the people of Bengal; he was the first Protestant and the first medical missionary to that extensive province; he was the first to prepare, though imperfectly, a translation of one of the Gospels into Bengali; and he was the colleague and the friend, though sometimes the ill-advised counsellor, of the great translator and evangelist, William Carey, one of the best and truest benefactors that India has ever seen.

CHAPTER VIII

CLOSE OF INDIAN CAREER

A.D. 1787 to 1790

House occupied by Grant at Calcutta—Duties as Member of the renovated Board of Trade—Difficulties of his position—Confidence in him expressed by Lord Cornwallis, who tries to prevail on him to remain longer, and is anxious to obtain for him a seat in Council—Grant's name left in the list of those suspected of collusive practices—Anxiety felt on this account—Letter from Lord Cornwallis—Memorial to Government—Complete exoneration—Final approval of his conduct as to contracts—Influence of Lord Cornwallis on Society in Calcutta—Great improvement in the Civil Service—Letters from Lord Cornwallis to Dundas—Expression of regret at Grant's departure from the Government of Bengal and the Board of Trade—Grant leaves India—Sorrow of his friends at his departure—Considerate hospitality of Mr and Mrs Grant—Influence on young men entering the Services—Mrs Burney's letter to Mrs Grant—Letter to Thomas Raikes—Conclusion of Grant's Indian career—Retrospect.

Charles Grant, during his residence in Calcutta, occupied a commodious house which had previously belonged to his friend Wheler. It was situated in Kidderpore, the southern suburb, and had recently been vacated by Mr Stuart, a member of the Supreme Council.[1] It contained two large reception rooms and eight bedrooms, with four open verandahs; and there was a bungalow near for his faithful steward Obeck. It was well built, and had the great advantage of being the dryest house in the neighbourhood during

[1] *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes from* 1784 *to* 1788, by W. S. Seton-Karr, p. 167. Calcutta, 1864.

the rainy season. The grounds were of considerable extent, including a good deal of pasture land.

Grant soon settled down to work heartily at the arduous duties of his new office. His former experience as Secretary of the Board gave him a thorough knowledge of what lay before him; and his residence up-country afforded him a practical and most useful acquaintance with the manufacture of cloth, and with the difficulties of the negotiations required to be carried on with the weavers. The principal hindrances which he had to encounter were connected with the other members of the Board. Their relations with the Government were much strained owing to the necessity for carrying into practice the altered circumstances which had been effected by Lord Cornwallis's drastic measures, and to the ungracious manner in which most of the members regarded those measures.

His position will be best understood from certain expressions used by him in a letter written to Thomas Raikes seven months after he had taken his seat at the renovated Board, when he had obtained some practical experience of its duties.

Charles Grant to Thomas Raikes.

"CALCUTTA, 17*th September* 1787.

"I have," he wrote, "come into a place of very great labour and fatigue, and of various difficulties. Lord Cornwallis, I have reason to believe, places much of his dependence in respect to the Commercial Department on me; and this to a mind that has any just feeling can only add an anxious zeal to the sense of duty. The management of that Department is very difficult. Good instruments are rare; the detail is great; the past system has left much of its inveteracy in the habits and system of doing business, though the grosser evils be taken away. It is hard to go a step in right measures without giving personal hurt, either as to the past or present; and I find that the

greatest forbearance of unnecessary censure will not satisfy. Activity and perseverance upon sound, unchanging principles are offensive, and excite disgust, prejudice, and censorious discourse. The very load of current business is too much for me, exclusive of all hindrances from men's characters and tempers. The Company's investment is a ponderous machine to keep in proper motion. Their exigencies are so continual that there is never time for doing things in the best manner; and the Honourable Court of Directors are too often either quite supine or unreasonably rigid —effects of that ignorance and indolence to which fluctuating collective bodies are liable. From all these circumstances, though I was willing to assist in the conduct of a Department, the disorders of which I had long regretted, yet, to say the truth, I find the weight and responsibility of the business so great, the want of instruments and of a co-adjusting disposition so discouraging, the real difficulties in making the Company's purchases so many, and, in a word, the uncertainty of success and of affording satisfaction so considerable, that my hopes are much abated. I fear to have no support but the sense of having done my best, and shall be very glad if, upon winding up the affairs of another year, I find myself able to make a handsome retreat."

The tone of this letter proves that the same sensitive nature which had troubled Grant, when he imagined that he had made too large a profit in his official transactions at Malda, caused him unnecessary worry in Calcutta. He had the consolation, however, of knowing that he possessed the full confidence of Lord Cornwallis. That nobleman's main object in the Commercial Department was to suppress the frauds committed by the former Board, and to prevent them under the Board as now constituted. He felt that, under a pure management, the Company's agencies might be safely extended, so that neither the manufactures should be debased nor the manufacturers oppressed—two very important points to the Company as the ruling power

in Bengal.[1] As the time drew near for Grant's retirement, Lord Cornwallis was very anxious to detain him in the country, and he hoped to do so by obtaining for him a seat in Council. The exact words he used were :—

"*4th November* 1788.

"My most worthy and valuable friend Mr Grant can, I fear, on no account be prevailed to stay longer than next year; indeed, I believe it is only in consequence of my earnest entreaties that he remains so long. If he could be tempted, by being a Supreme Counsellor, to superintend the Company's commercial concerns for a year or two beyond the period which he has fixed for retiring, my duty would be to name him."[2]

These words will serve to show the esteem in which the Governor-General continued to hold the subject of this Memoir. Grant, on the other hand, entertained the highest admiration for Lord Cornwallis's character.

"Superadded to my first ideas," he wrote, "I now see that Lord Cornwallis is a man of sterling ability, without show or affectation. He thinks and acts for himself, has a discernment into character, and a fortitude and equanimity which enable him to sustain a weighty burden without chafing or despondency. He is a man also of much decorum in private character, and sets an example of becoming economy and other good qualities to the whole settlement, by which he is greatly respected."

Grant also possessed the countenance and support of his friend, John Shore, who occupied a seat in the Supreme Council, and who, in Revenue matters, was the Governor-General's right hand. Writing to Mr Hugh Inglis, a member of the Court of Directors, on 9th November 1788, Shore said :—

"You never had a Board of Trade more diligent.

[1] *Correspondence of Lord Cornwallis*, vol. i. pp. 306, 320.

[2] In a letter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 377.

Charles Grant, who possesses the first knowledge, talents, and honesty, exerts himself indefatigably; and you will perceive a great difference in the letters from the Board of Trade under his management, and formerly. The information now is open, clear, and satisfactory. Arguments are fairly brought forward and stated; and the principles being clearly pointed out, errors, if they occur, may more easily be corrected. You will see that we have continued the liberty of private trade to your Commercial Residents and Agents. Depend upon it, that the true way to improve your affairs is to make the interests of individuals and the Company to go hand in hand. Without this they will never thrive."[1]

It has been seen that Lord Cornwallis had received the most stringent injunctions to suppress the peculation and dishonesty which had been almost universally prevalent among the officials of the Company, especially among those in the Commercial Department in connection with the Company's investments. Most of these were themselves contractors. Grant, who had also been a contractor, had been entirely exonerated from any collusive practice, the Governor-General having placed implicit confidence in him, and having publicly shown his approval by giving him immediate promotion in the Service. It appears, however, that for some inscrutable reason, his name had been entered in a list of contractors supposed to have been implicated in such dishonourable conduct. This list was mentioned in a despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, and he felt troubled by the fact. His anxiety about the matter is stated in the following letter to Thomas Raikes:—

Charles Grant to Thomas Raikes.

CALCUTTA, 15*th September* 1787.

Whilst I was exhausting myself with fatigues from

[1] *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of Lord Teignmouth*, vol. i. p. 161.

the causes I have been describing, I was subjected to a much keener evil and greater distraction than any of them by finding in the general letter from the Court my name included in the list of silk contractors supposed to have obtained their contracts by collusion with the late Board of Trade. It seems that two Civilians acknowledged in their answers to the bills filed against them that they did derive certain sums from the Company's contracts as contractors ; and upon this, with the aid of a strained estimate of the cost of raw silk here, the Directors, concluding that all Contractors were or ought to be supposed in the same predicament, sent out orders for a strict investigation into the principles and manner of making those contracts, particularly in respect to such of their servants as were still in the country, of whom they gave a list, inserting my name in the number. They desire the same enquiries to be pursued with respect to all others who were concerned but not named, and into the cloth contracts as well as the silk. I do not wonder at their resentment, nor at their conduct. The wonder and the blame is that the evils to be now punished were knowingly permitted for ten years together, for though all particulars might not have been known, undoubtedly the system was. I am sorry also that their resentment has been undistinguishing, that the conduct I have followed in the Service should have been apparently so little known, and most of all, to see the name of a person who has professed the principles I have done recorded in such a connection.

This matter much troubled him, and he considered that it was his duty to justify the whole of his conduct as a contractor in the most public manner. Accordingly he drew up a Memorial to Government, attested on oath before two Justices of the Peace. This document is too long for publication. In it he reiterated in a clear and emphatic tone his complete innocence of anything approaching collusion. The Governor-General, to whom he had applied for permission to lay his statement before the Board of Trade and before the Government, freely gave him his permission ; but, at the same time, he expressed his opinion that Grant need

not have troubled himself so much about the affair. We reproduce Lord Cornwallis's kindly letter, the original of which is now lying before us, and also give an extract from the General Letter to the Court from the Government of Bengal.

Lord Cornwallis to Charles Grant.

Near BENARES, *27th August* 1787.

I most perfectly agree in the propriety of the Board of Trade transmitting the sort of letter you propose. However I may disapprove of the extensive, and, I may add unfair, line of inquiry which is now ordered by the Court of Directors, yet I cannot admit that you have any reason to be hurt; all investigation must redound to your honor, and I do not think you would have approved of your name being alone omitted. For those who do not stand quite so clear as you do, and yet have faithful and meritorious services to plead, I am much concerned. The first prosecution was fully sufficient for example, and the objects of it in general were very proper ones.

Extract from a General Letter from the Government of Bengal.

"*14th September* 1787.

"We send you copy of a Letter addressed to us by Mr Charles Grant, accompanying a Declaration which he judged it necessary to make before us upon Oath regarding his Conduct as a Contractor, as his name was mentioned in the List of those supposed to have been concerned in collusive practices with the late Board of Trade. In justice to Mr Grant we think it our duty to remark that the general Tenor of his conduct as a Servant of the Company, as far as it has ever come to our knowledge, either through the medium of Public Report or Officially, would have precluded any suspicion of collusion in any of the Contracts or Engagements entered into between him and the Company, and we are happy on this occasion to find our Opinion so substantially verified by this

Voluntary Declaration under the Solemn Sanction of an Oath."

The final decision of the Court of Directors on this subject is appended. It must have removed a great load of uneasiness from Grant's mind, and it ought to have enabled him to leave the country with a completely unburdened heart.

Extract from the General Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General and Council of Bengal.

"*8th April* 1789.

"3. We have read the Declaration upon Oath of Mr Grant regarding his Conduct as a Contractor for the Investment, which, added to your testimony in his behalf, has given us a very favourable idea of that Gentleman's Character."

It appears, however, that Grant's mind was still not quite satisfied with regard to his contracts. Though the Bengal Government and the Court of Directors expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied with his explanations on the general subject, he continued to trouble himself about the profits which he had made by his contract for the supply of cloth while in Malda, and he occupied himself during his first two years in England in drawing up a long Memorial to Government, explaining and justifying his conduct, which was presented to the Governor-General in Council by Messrs Chambers and Udny, his attorneys in Calcutta. This Memorial was so lengthy that he could not have expected any one beside himself would take the trouble to read it. As the whole matter troubled him much, we mention it here, and transcribe the concluding passage in the proceedings of the Governor-General in Council on the matter.

Extract from the Proceedings of Government.

"*12th August* 1793.

"The Governor-General in Council thinks it his duty to add that he always considered Mr Grant in the performance of the above-mentioned contract, and in his general conduct in the country, as one of the most honourable and valuable Servants that has ever been employed by the Company, and he can only attribute the exposition which Mr Grant has thought it proper to give of the circumstances that attended the execution of the contract, to a delicacy highly creditable to himself."

The tone of society in Calcutta during Grant's second residence there was far purer than it was during the first. Lord Cornwallis himself set an example of a quiet and consistent mode of living. Though ready to entertain, when necessary, in a manner befitting the representative of the Sovereign of England, in the capital of one of his greatest dependencies, his own private life was simple even to frugality; and, though we cannot say that, even during his administration, there was no laxity of manners, there was a better and more moral tone than formerly prevailed. "The private life of Cornwallis in his high office," says Mr Seton-Karr, "was pure and consistent, and marked by a wish to avoid display whenever this could be done without a disregard of the hospitality and ceremony looked for at Government House."[1] He also showed a consideration for the native inhabitants of the land, which secured for him their hearty respect and kindly appreciation. The very fact of the reforms which he had been commissioned to effect on his arrival brought a healthier atmosphere into the Services, and did especial good to the Civil Service, which was largely responsible for the peace, order, and good government of the country; and an

[1] *The Marquis Cornwallis*, by W. S. Seton-Karr, in "The Rulers of India" Series, pp. 107, 117. *Lord Teignmouth's Life*, vol. i. p. 198.

increase of probity and honourable feeling into official life had a reflex influence on the private life of the high officers of State. The great satisfaction which Grant felt at this salutary change in the aspect of affairs, though he could not point to any general improvement in the religious life of the community, is very apparent in his third letter to Schwartz.

At length the time for departure from India drew near. Even so early as August 1789, Lord Cornwallis felt the shadow of the loss of one whom he so thoroughly trusted.

"Charles Grant's children have been ill," he wrote, "and no consideration can detain him longer in India. I shall much lament his loss from the general assistance which I have received from him, but in the commercial line it is irreparable."[1]

Again, writing to Mr Dundas just as Grant was leaving, on 7th February 1790, he said:—

"If I could have thought myself at liberty to have followed my own private inclinations, you may easily conceive that it would have led me to have taken the field against Tippoo, instead of remaining here at the daily and constant drudgery of conducting the business of this country, in which, after the loss of Mr Shore and Mr Grant, I really have very little official assistance."[2]

In a subsequent letter to Mr Dundas, written in a more private and friendly manner, Lord Cornwallis said:—

"I have had so frequent occasions to express my sentiments to you with regard to Mr Grant, that I need not repeat, upon introducing him to you, how much I am personally obliged to him, or how much the East India Company and his country are indebted to his zealous services and superior abilities. I must beg of you for my sake to receive him with all possible kindness and attention, and I should recommend it

[1] *Correspondence of Lord Cornwallis*, vol. i. p. 415.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 475.

to you for your own, to converse with him frequently upon every part of the business of this country."

The regret which Lord Cornwallis personally felt at the unavoidable loss of Grant's services was publicly expressed in the following minute:—

Extract from the Commercial Letter of 13th February 1790.

"We are concerned to acquaint you that Mr Grant has resigned your service in order to proceed to Europe. We regret the Necessity arising from Family Considerations that deprives us of his services, which we have uniformly found to be very material to the proper executive Management of your Commercial Interests in this country. Mr Grant has long been in responsible Situations under this Government. As a Member of the Board of Trade, his Abilities, Integrity, and Zeal in the honourable discharge of an important, laborious, and responsible office are highly deserving of your Notice, as they have been of our approbation. After having said thus much in Testimony to the merits of Mr Grant, it will be hardly necessary to mention that, if he should desire to return to Bengal, the Leave of your Honourable Court will, we trust, be readily granted in compliance with such an application."

The testimony of his colleagues found expression thus:—

Extract from a Letter from the Board of Trade.

"13*th February* 1790.

"Mr Grant having requested from your Lordship permission to resign the Service and proceed to Europe, we beg to be allowed to express the extreme regret we feel for the loss of a colleague, from whose distinguished abilities, zeal, and extensive knowledge in this Department, we have derived the greatest assistance in the conduct of it."

The departure of Grant from Calcutta was still more deeply felt by the inner circle of intimate friends who had gathered round Mrs Grant and him. He had taken their passage in the ship *Berrington*, which sailed on 23rd February 1790. Their party consisted of themselves, their five children, the child of a friend, three female servants, and two men-servants; the round-house, the two upper stern galleries, with other cabins, being allotted for their accommodation. Mrs Chambers with Mr and Mrs Brown accompanied them to the boat—we may add in the words of Scripture, "Sorrowing most of all . . . that they should see his face no more."[1] Mr Chambers was so affected that he could not trust himself to bid them good-bye in person.

Before closing the narrative of Mr and Mrs Grant's life in Calcutta, mention must be made of one phase of it, in which they were pre-eminently useful. A distinguishing feature of Anglo-Indian society in those days was unbounded hospitality. There were then no hotels, and new-comers were always received on their arrival by friends or relatives, or by those to whom letters of introduction had been given. Kindness shown to young men at the commencement of their Indian career has frequently resulted in shaping their characters in the right mould, and influencing them for good throughout their subsequent service. Mr and Mrs Grant exercised this seasonable hospitality, and were thus rendered the means of quietly doing much substantial good. We mention one instance of this of a peculiarly pleasing nature. Mrs Grant had been the favourite pupil of Mr Burney, brother-in-law of the authoress of *Evelina*, a notable novel in its day. His son, on arrival at Calcutta, was received by Mr and Mrs Grant, and their example had a permanent effect on his future

[1] Acts xx. 38.

life, which is thus gratefully acknowledged by his mother.

Mrs Burney to Mrs Grant.

30th July 1790.

I cannot, dear Madam, resist this opportunity to return Mr Grant and you my grateful thanks for the extraordinary and repeated kindness you have shown my son. I hope and believe that the short time he had the blessing to reside with you has laid a foundation for piety and morals that will save him from the temptations of this world, and, I humbly hope, procure his salvation in the next. I longed yesterday to express my gratitude, but it was impossible. Had we been alone, tears would have interrupted my speech—tears of heart-felt joy, for to you and Mr Grant I owe my child; you, and you only, under Heaven, recovered my son. Mr Grant's precepts, and the example of your family, have implanted seeds which will bring forth fruits of righteousness.

The following was written to Thomas Raikes, who had acted as Grant's agent in England, and to whom, during his absence, he had frequently written in terms of hearty affection.

Charles Grant to Thomas Raikes.

CALCUTTA, 10*th November* 1789.

I am now looking forward to departure from this country, but am still entrammelled by public business, with the settlement of my own affairs thereby suspended, with a great change, and all the contingencies of a long voyage for a numerous family, before me. I have unspeakable reason for thankfulness. The bounties and the mercies of God are talents to be accounted for. Too long little sensible of this, it behoves me now seriously and steadily to respect the end. I am as yet quite undetermined where to settle. In this important point I wish the line of duty to be my guide. Fallen far behind in inclination, as well as practice, the style of

modern improvements, some retirement would be most suitable for me; but for the first it will, I imagine, be necessary that I remain in London, and how much I shall be gratified in the society of so kind and respected a friend as yourself, how much I shall wish that mine may have anything acceptable in it, I need not say.

Thus ended Charles Grant's career in India. He would recall his eighteen years' residence in the land which was rapidly receding from his view. He would remember his early days at Calcutta and Murshidabad in the kindly employ of his constant friend, Richard Becher. He would not forget the terrible time of famine, and the depressing attack of fever which laid him low, and drove him back to England for health and rest. He would remember his return to Calcutta, accompanied by one who had proved herself the light of his home and the joy of his heart. He would recall with sorrow the scenes of extravagance that characterised the earlier months of their residence there; and he would look up with adoring gratitude to Him who, even by the severest trials, had called them into the enjoyment of His delightful service. His thoughts would then turn to the fertile plains of Malda with its quiet retirement and congenial employ, the convenient house and the domestic felicity, the failure and the renewal of health, and the opportunity for studying the habits and the character of the people. He would remember that it was during his residence at Malda that he acquired the desire to see imparted to those people the knowledge of true Christianity, whereby alone they would attain that wisdom which would ensure their real happiness in this world and their eternal salvation in the next. The contemplated scheme for a Mission in Bengal was one of the subjects which would ever linger in his mind, and which he hoped to forward on his arrival in England. Lastly, he would remember his recent residence in Calcutta. He would recall with satisfaction the implicit

confidence in all the Company's commercial affairs reposed in him by the Governor-General; the trying work demanded from him in carrying out the new rules of commerce in the renovated Board of Trade; the happy society gathered round him and his family; and the influence he had been enabled to exercise over young men just entering the Services and society in the Indian capital. In pondering over these events, it would indeed have been strange if he felt no pang of regret as the ship *Berrington* passed the low-lying shores of the Hooghly, and glided into the blue waters of the Bay of Bengal.

CHAPTER IX

EARLY DAYS IN ENGLAND

A.D. 1790 TO 1792

Arrival at Deal—First letter to his sister—Temporary residence in London—Visit to Mr and Mrs Parry in Norfolk—Visit to his sister and friends in the Highlands—Correspondence with Mrs Grant during his absence—Meeting with Colonel Hugh Grant—Visit to Cromarty—Mr Forsyth and Mrs Allan—Meeting with his sister—The Isle of Contin—Visit to Glen Urquhart—Greeting from Shewglie and his family — James Grant — Banquet at Inverness—Stay at Edinburgh on the return journey—Attends the Communion there—Higher appreciation of Scottish reverence—Resides in Queen Square—Makes the acquaintance of William Wilberforce and Henry Thornton—House next to Thornton's on Battersea Rise — Preparation of a treatise on India — Letter from Dundas to Lord Cornwallis—Discussion on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal between Pitt, Dundas, and Grant—Grant drafts the despatch from the Board of Control—Letters to his wife about his stay with Pitt and Dundas at Wimbledon — Persuades Sir John Shore to accept the appointment of Governor-General—Some idea of his return to India.

After a five months' voyage Mr and Mrs Grant landed with their family at Deal on 21st July 1790; and, on their arrival in London, went to a house which had been taken for them by Thomas Raikes in Southampton Row, Holborn. The first person to whom Grant wrote as soon as possible after coming to Town was his surviving sister, Mrs Mackenzie.

Charles Grant to Mrs Mackenzie.

London, Southampton Row, No. 23,
26th July 1790.

I have at length the pleasure to address you once again from the British Shore. Through the good-

ness of God we have been carried through great varieties in a long Voyage, which we concluded at Deal last Wednesday night. We are all tolerably well—your sister the least so, her constitution being much impaired, but I trust, not beyond a thorough recovery. I wish to hear how you, Mr Mackenzie, and the children do, and these preliminaries must bound the present letter. We are as yet quite unsettled—and so much time is required for necessary business here, that we do not believe we can look towards the North this year. Two of our children are too young to travel far, and concerning the disposal of the other four we cannot hastily determine.

The Rev. Roderick Mackenzie, his sister's husband, was then the minister of the Isle of Contin, a parish in the Highlands near Dingwall. Mrs Mackenzie, in replying to her brother's letter, mentioned certain houses and estates, where she thought he might like to reside. Grant had at first imagined that he would like to live in the Highlands; but much as he desired to lead a quiet and secluded life, he believed that it was his duty to remain for some time at least in or near London. He afterwards altered his opinion regarding residence in Scotland.

"Though I wish," he wrote to his sister on 20th August, "to have our permanent residence in the country, yet, until we find a proper place there, our home must be in Town, and several depending points of business make it necessary that I should pass the winter here."

So soon as the business that detained him in London had been transacted, Grant, with his family, paid a long visit to their friends Mr and Mrs Parry at Dunham Lodge, near Swaffham, in Norfolk. Edward Parry was one of the first to give him a cordial welcome to England. He was a brother Civilian, with whom Grant had been intimate in Bengal, and with whom he was afterwards more closely connected when they

both became Directors of the East India Company. Grant was, however, yearning to see his only sister; and, by September, he was ready to start for the North. He regretted that Mrs Grant could not accompany him; but in those days a journey to the Highlands was a very arduous undertaking. He wrote the following letter to his sister announcing his plans.

Charles Grant to Mrs Mackenzie.

DUNHAM LODGE, near SWAFFHAM,
23rd September 1790.

Our whole family is here, at Mr Parry's. Your sister has at present but weak health; I hope, however, the air and retirement of this place will be made useful to her. I am so far on my way to the North alone. To be sure, there is very little of the season left, and my excursion must be short; but that short one I think for several reasons better than an entire delay till next year. I propose, God willing, to leave this place on the 27th, and expect to be in Edinburgh about the 3rd of October. My stay there will not be long, and if Col. Grant (his cousin Hugh) is at home, I shall next take the Highland road to Moy; but, in order to be in London early in November, can make little more than a flying visit anywhere.

Husband and wife had scarcely been separated during their married life; and the following extracts from letters which he wrote to her while posting to the North show the tenderness of his attachment to her, and reveal something of the depth of his loving nature. Mrs Grant was in delicate health, and had dreaded the separation which this journey occasioned. Writing from Sleaford on 27th September, he said:—

"I am just arrived here without any fatigue, and propose going on to Lincoln to-night. I have been anxious enough all day on your account. I trust the Lord will give you ease both of body and of mind

and, in His good time, strength. I pray that you will meditate on all His mercies, and endeavour to maintain a thankful frame of spirit. Remember the exhortations, 'In everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God,' and 'Casting all your care upon Him; for He careth for you.' Much prayer will bring much resignation. For my sake be composed and hopeful."

The next letter was written from Hull, dated 28th September.

"I sit down to write to you now rather from anxiety on your account than from any intention of being daily in my communications. As I move further from you I am more distressed by the idea of the greater difficulty of return to you, if there should be occasion; and even this I cannot now know, I fear, before I reach Edinburgh, so that I must fly there to know how you are. I am willing to hope, however, that the great mercy of the Lord will appear here also; that He may graciously give composure and ease and strength. I entreat you will omit nothing to this end. If with this you quietly wait on the Lord, and remember all His loving-kindnesses, and even His forgiveness, through the blood of Jesus, of those who are forgetful, I trust Norfolk will prove a blessing to you, and you and friends there be mutual comforts to each other. I hold out wonderfully well. A passenger in the boat entered into religious conversation with me, and two or three others listened with attention. I have forbidden James (his servant) to say anything of my being a Nabob: this, with my equipage and grey hairs, may account for my receiving some civilities."

This correspondence with Mrs Grant gave an account of his slow journey to the North; but it will suffice to take up the narrative on his arrival in Inverness-shire. On reaching Moy, he found his cousins, Colonel Hugh Grant and James. After visiting Alexander Brodie, a Madras Civilian, who had been his fellow-passenger in the eventful voyage of 1773, he went on to Cromarty,

the little port which he remembered so well as the scene of his youthful experiences, and no reception could have been more cordial.

"I found the worthy man, Mr Forsyth, surprisingly well at sixty-eight. His wife less so from the effects of many afflictions, but still a pleasing, affectionate, and sensible woman. Besides a son aged fifteen, they have yet two daughters growing up. They have been educated at home, but constantly see company in their father's house, who has been a kind of common medium to the people of the neighbouring counties for near fifty years. Mrs Allan, that good creature whom I call my mother, was overjoyed indeed to see me. She is, at eighty, lively and hale, and reads without spectacles. She is the same cheerful, pious woman I ever knew her.

"My brother-in-law, Mr Mackenzie, came in whilst we were at dinner the first day. He is a large man, his visage long and rosy, his nose convex at the upper end, and tending to sharpness at the other; his under jaw projects a little. He is cheerful and laughs a great deal. He seems to be a good-natured, companionable man, but of a stout spirit withal, and of a sound, plain understanding without much artificial refinement."

It will be remembered that this was the first time Grant had seen his brother-in-law.

"We had no morning prayers," he continued, "nor much religious conversation. I have had some with Mrs Allan and Mrs Forsyth apart, and find the former quite at home on the subject. The latter also informed of the truth, and I think serious. The general temper of the conversation here is cheerful harmlessness and simplicity, without malignity or those indications of the passions which are produced in the hot-beds of large societies."

At length the time approached to which Grant had so long looked forward, the meeting his sister, whom he had not seen for nineteen years.

"After writing to you from Cromarty," he said, "I set out for this place—the Isle of Contin—travelling

westward along that branch of the sea on which Cromarty stands. The day was fine, and the opposite shore of Ross-shire exhibited a variegated scene of cultivated fields, green plantations, and gentlemen's seats on the lower lands near the sea; behind these, hills covered partly with wood and partly with heath, and in the background immense black mountains tipped with snow. Mr and Mrs Forsyth accompanied us in the carriage as far as Newhall, where I took leave of these kind friends, and proceeded westwards with Mr Mackenzie; the country on both sides the Frith having a good deal of cultivation and agreeable scenery, and becoming more bold and wild as we approached Contin, which is a flat spot, covered with shrubbery, and insulated by two streams in the midst of surrounding mountains. The only slated houses in it are the inn, the church, and the parsonage house. The last is a very humble dwelling. There I found my sister still weak, much agitated, and hardly able to speak. She looks better than I expected, but the care of a family and of many children have given her something of a homely air which young unencumbered women have not. With this, however, and too much of the Scottish dialect, she shows herself to have sense and sentiment, and I think also piety. Mr Mackenzie improves on further acquaintance. He appears to be an honest, good-natured man, to love his family, and not to be unconcerned about his higher duties and interests; but I still think there seems wanting in this country that close addictedness to the Word of God and prayer, which lively Christians in England practise and find necessary."

After staying four days with his sister, Grant's next visit was to Glen Urquhart, the home of his family and of his branch of the numerous clan of Grant. Before giving his account of the meeting with the heads of his family, it will be well to reproduce his own description of the very beautiful valley in which they dwelt. Writing at Urquhart on 28th October, he said :—

"The road to this place from the Aird is over hills of brown heath, intersected by falling rivulets running

over stony and pebbly bottoms. In four hours the view of the glen of Urquhart opened upon us sideways. At one end of it is Loch Ness. The glen forms an angle with it to the northward, and the entrance into it from the Loch is through a high road, fronted on the opposite side by the elevated hills of Strath-herrick, where your uncle Balnain's estate lies. The glen upon its first appearance from this passage presents the idea of seclusion and retirement. The hills on both sides of a pleasing little river which winds below are covered with natural birch ; approach near to each other ; have many indenting rills fringed with those trees ; are thus varied in their form, and the valley, instead of proceeding in a long straight line, curves somewhat in its direction, and has in the middle a moderate hill clothed with wood which, limiting the view, raises the imagination. Passing round the bottom of this hill, the trees overhanging on one side, and the river sweeping the other, the continuance of the valley is seen, little openings to the right and left, as it were withdrawing and sheltering themselves under wild foliage from the view, and, further on, a fine natural reservoir of water about half a mile long. On the borders of this pleasing lake are the seats of the nearest paternal relations I now have, and here our small tribe has been seated since they left Strathspey in the sixteenth century.[1]

"The cordiality of a genuine Highlander is a sort of enthusiasm. I had lost so much of the original character that my reception gave me a kind of pain. I first saw Mr and Mrs Grant of Lochletter. She is a good woman, naturally amiable, and my mother's intimate friend. I do not know that seeing her own son could have given her more joy. She could not find words to say and ask all she wished. I was obliged to proceed to Shewglie, the residence of James's parents. The old lady, now some years past eighty, received me with lively, active, and overflowing kindness. The honest old gentleman himself, who has likewise rounded his eightieth year, and was a few days ago at the point of death, found new animation at our meeting. He is, as

[1] There is an interesting account of this glen in *Urquhart and Glenmoriston : Olden Times in a Highland Parish*, by William Mackay. Inverness, Northern Counties' Newspaper and Publishing Co., 1893.

you know, the head of the family, and has been a fosterer of the members of it. For a worthy, friendly, and brave spirit, he has not, perhaps, a superior in the Highlands. All was a sort of intemperance of joy on the part of my kind relations. Thence I went to Lochletter. Before dinner I had conversation with Mrs Grant, Lochletter. I found her a well-informed Christian, full of afflictions in her own person and from her friends, and apparently drawing all her support from God and His Word. She told me that my mother knew the truth and loved it, and that her prayers for her children have been answered since her death."

On the following day Grant, accompanied by his cousin James and his brother-in-law, went to Inverness, where he was enticed by his relatives to attend a banquet given at the annual gathering of the landed proprietors of the adjoining counties. Colonel Grant, who presided, placed him in a prominent place—a foreshadowing of the position which he was ere long to occupy as Member for the county. After this banquet he started on his return journey. He spent Sunday, 31st October, at desolate Dalwhinnie.

"The course I have been through for some weeks," he wrote, "has been unfavourable to a serious attention to the one thing needful. I am displeased with myself for making too much of that world I have been viewing here, and yielding too much to its spirit. I disrelish also what I have written from Urquhart and Inverness. I have been following vain things, and have become vain and ostentatious. I had a view to make you acquainted with the manners of these people; but, when I contemplate them in the light of the sanctuary, I see in those I have mixed with much spiritual deadness and formality, tissued with orthodox declarations, natural good sense, and soberness. I experience anew that it is a very hard thing to be in the world, particularly the more affluent part of it, and not to be of the world. A quiet retreat would be best for me, unless I could live boldly and singly devoted to Christ in the midst of a carnal, proud, and courting generation."

Grant remained a week at Edinburgh, his object in staying there being "a further acquaintance with Gospel ministers, information as to religious society, and eligible garden houses in the vicinity." He had hitherto entertained a very poor idea of the tone of religious society in Scotland in those days, so it will be pleasant for the description of his Scottish tour to end with something sweeter and more favourable. The following is an account of a Communion season in Edinburgh :—

"The solemnisation of the Lord's Supper has been the principal cause of my delay. I did not care to go among the people of the world last week. Thursday was a fast day. It was a very great and solemn season. Mr Dickson preached on Saturday from Psalm xliii. 3 wonderfully well. Mr Randall preached what is called the Action Sermon on Sunday from Psalm lxv. 4, first clause. It was a solid, convincing, and animating, as well as alarming, discourse. Afterwards the Tables were served by six ministers till about five in the evening. There were, I judge, about 800 communicants in that one Church. It is the custom in Scotland to exhort the communicants whilst they sit at the Table, and admirably indeed was this performed. The things said on that day would have formed a good collection of meditations for the Lord's Supper. After all had communicated Mr Randall concluded in a way fit to divide the soul and spirit. Next day, and the last of that solemnity, Mr Black preached on these words, 'I know whom I have believed,' etc. I was amazed, and from the whole of this scene shall go away with very different thoughts from what I should otherwise have had of the grace and ability in the Scottish Church."

Grant returned to Dunham Lodge by way of Glasgow, Carlisle, and Manchester. Soon after his return, he took a house in London, and for the next two years and a half his head-quarters were at 12, Queen Square. About this time he must

have made the acquaintance of William Wilberforce and Henry Thornton, who were soon to become his closest and most intimate friends. It does not appear clearly when he was first introduced to the former. It must have been about the end of November 1790. It appears from a letter written by Sir James Grant that he had been dining with William Wilberforce—we suppose at Old Palace Yard—on 12th February 1791. He had there met Mr Pitt, Lord Grenville, Mr Henry Dundas, and Charles Grant. So that the subject of this Memoir, before he had been seven months in England, had enjoyed the pleasure of social intercourse with the Prime Minister and other distinguished personages, with two of whom he was later on to have private and official intercourse. Sir James Grant afterwards dined with Mr Dundas, where again he met his relative.[1] Grant's name glided gradually into Wilberforce's Journal. On the 24th of February 1791 appears the entry, "Breakfasted with Grant,"[2] and thenceforth they seem to have been on very intimate terms. He was on an equally intimate footing with Henry Thornton. More will be said in the next chapter regarding this friendship, and regarding the great questions in which they were all deeply interested. Meanwhile, it will be sufficient to say that Grant had frequent intercourse with them in London, Bath, and elsewhere. On leaving Queen Square, he removed to John Street, Bedford Row, where he attended the ministry of the Rev. Richard Cecil, which he thoroughly appreciated; and, in October 1794, he went to Clapham, or more accurately Battersea Rise, next to Henry Thornton's. It has sometimes been asserted that Thornton built this house for him, but

[1] *The Chiefs of Grant*, by W. Fraser, vol. ii. p. 509.

[2] *Life of William Wilberforce*, by his Sons, vol. i. p. 288. London, Murray, 1838.

this statement does not seem quite correct. Writing to Mrs Grant on 27th August 1792, he tells her:—

"I have been marking out the ground of the Clapham house this morning. The plan is changed—three rooms on the ground floor, a bow in one, nine bedrooms in all. Cost about £2700."

The year 1792 was chiefly occupied in preparing the first draft of a treatise on England's duty to India, which was at first shown privately to Mr Dundas, Wilberforce, and other friends, but was afterwards printed twice. It will be noticed more fully hereafter. His mind was much occupied this year with Indian topics. The following letter from Mr Dundas, addressed to Lord Cornwallis, shows how he was engaged.

The Right Hon. Henry Dundas to the Marquis Cornwallis.

LONDON, 17*th September* 1792.

In your letter you allude to the important question of the perpetuity of the Decennial Settlement, and I have the very great satisfaction to inform you that the same conveyance which carries this, carries out an approbation and confirmation of your sentiments on the subject. It has been longer delayed than I expected, but the delay was unavoidable. Knowing that the Directors would not be induced to take it up so as to consider it with any degree of attention, . . . and feeling that there was much respect due to the opinion and authority of Mr Shore, I thought it indispensably necessary both that the measure should originate with the Board of Control, and likewise that I should induce Mr Pitt to become my partner in the final consideration of so important and controverted a measure. He accordingly agreed to shut himself up with me for ten days at Wimbledon, and attend to that business only. Charles Grant staid with us a great part of the time. After a

most minute and attentive consideration of the whole subject, I had the satisfaction to find Mr Pitt entirely of the same opinion with us.[1]

Mr Dundas achieved a decided victory in inducing the Prime Minister of England to seclude himself in his house at Wimbledon, and to devote himself entirely to the one great subject of the Revenue Settlement of Bengal. There is a consensus of opinion now against the policy of the Permanent Settlement; but there is no doubt that it received the closest and most painstaking attention at the hands of Mr Shore and Lord Cornwallis in India, and of Mr Pitt and Mr Dundas in England; and it was no slight honour for Grant to be the only person invited to join in their consultations, and to be closeted with them for several days. It would seem, indeed, that their information on Indian Revenue topics was derived from him; and that he was in a position to enlighten them on all intricate points, and to explain what would naturally have been to them insoluble difficulties connected with Indian phraseology and Indian technical terms. Grant himself drafted the despatch on this subject which was sent from the Board of Control, and signed by Mr Dundas as President. This appears from a letter written some years later by Grant to Lord William Bentinck, then Governor of Madras, on the subject of the Revenue Settlement in that Presidency.

Charles Grant to Lord William Bentinck.

LONDON, 20*th March* 1806.

I feel that the subject of the settlement of the lands under your Government is of high interest and importance. Though I have never served in the Revenue Department, it has happened to me from my earliest residence in India to be connected with

[1] *Correspondence of Lord Cornwallis*, vol. ii. p. 213.

persons immediately engaged in, or particularly conversant with, the principal questions which were discussed in Bengal on systems and modes of Revenue administration; and, when leaving that country in 1790, Lord Cornwallis commissioned me to explain and recommend, as far as I could, to the authorities here the great measure of the Perpetual Settlement, which he had then brought forward, and which met considerable opposition at home, so that, at length, the Board of Control dictated the General Orders of September 1792, sent out upon it, which Orders it fell to my lot to draw up.[1] I take the truest idea of the land revenues of Hindostan to be that which states the Sovereign to be proprietor of the soil, and the labouring tenants or ryots to be permanent occupants, each of his particular lot, on the condition of paying a certain seigniority.

With the exception of this distant echo and the expressions used by Mr Dundas in his letters to Lord Cornwallis, nothing is known of what passed during the secret interviews in the Prime Minister's house at Wimbledon on this unique occasion; but some side-lights are thrown upon it from the following observations contained in Grant's letters written at the time to his wife.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

WIMBLEDON, *23rd August* 1792.

Yesterday morning I reached this place just as the two great men had sat down to breakfast. I have passed my time hitherto easily, and cannot yet judge how long I may stay here; at least some days. For the rest I find myself insignificant, and well it is to be convinced of this, and to look to Him that is invisible.

[1] This despatch was printed in the *Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1810, App. 12 (A). See *Fifth Report*, 1812, p. 49.

Grant remained at Wimbledon four days, arriving early on Wednesday, 22nd August, and leaving late on Saturday, 25th August. Writing from Whitehall he said :—

27th August.

I am to see Mr Dundas in town for a little on Wednesday, and may be ready to set out for Bath[1] Thursday. Some important conversation passed at Wimbledon, but nothing definitive, and I have been exquisitely hurt by some parts of my own conduct, which, however, I am now inclined to view more calmly. It is most probable the Indian scheme will dissipate. Remember me affectionately to Mr Wilberforce.

CLAPHAM, *28th August* 1792.

I am to call on Mr Dundas on Thursday instead of to-morrow. I think it quite improbable that anything will happen with respect to India. I was led by some circumstances in conversation to intimate that I might be tempted to entertain thoughts that way. The intimation was generally well received ; but, upon further entering into the subject, real difficulties were found, and there was no determination. It is not to hear one that I am to give another call ; but I shall probably collect from the interview that I may wholly dismiss the subject from my thoughts, and that may be one useful acquisition. I blame my own haste in opening this subject, and not having the Lord more before me. I wish I do not pay for the ascertainment I get by some loss in their opinions. Indeed, I had never seriously enough considered in respect to India what it was to leave my family.

CLAPHAM, *Friday*, 31*st August.*

I had some relief yesterday in respect to former passages at Wimbledon ; but I have been sadly wanting where only true discretion and rest are to be found.

[1] Where he had been staying with his wife and eldest daughter, and in close intercourse with the Misses More and Wilberforce. See *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. i. p. 363.

CLAPHAM, *Saturday, 1st September.*

I believe Mr Shore will go out again. I have been instrumental in it. (This is entirely to yourself.) What he would think—what I ought to think myself—of my going again, I know not. If you could discover without asking, I should be glad. I have a far higher authority to consult. I have been much distressed to-day by considerations of the past and the future.

Grant was most anxious that his great friend, John Shore, should accept the position of Governor-General of India which His Majesty's Ministers had offered him. He used his utmost endeavours for this object, and even posted to Bath so as to catch him before he started for London. Grant did not succeed in this, however, for he passed Shore on the way.[1] We believe that Mr Dundas must have suggested to him the idea of his accompanying Shore to India as a Member of the Supreme Council—a position which was actually offered to him a few years later. Even the thought of this put him into the state of agitation with which he was affected when he communicated the fact to the only person on whose discretion and advice he could thoroughly rely. Had he accepted the offer, and gone once more to India, he might have been able to render good service to his country; but he would not have been in the position to effect a tithe of the good which he was able to accomplish for India and for England by remaining in this country, and labouring for both in the Direction and in Parliament.

[1] *Life of Lord Teignmouth*, vol. i. p. 221.

CHAPTER X

CONSUMMATION OF MISSIONARY EFFORT

A.D. 1790 TO 1799

Importance of the last decade of the eighteenth century—Philanthropic schemes of English statesmen—Influence of William Wilberforce—Intimacy between Grant and Wilberforce—Grant's friendship with Henry Thornton—Estimate of Thornton's character—Help rendered by Grant in the anti-slavery movement—Letter from Wilberforce to Grant—The three friends at Bath—Hard work in the cause of the slave—Sir John Shore—Wilberforce and Thornton live together—Renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1793—Resolutions in favour of opening India to educational and missionary effort passed in the House of Commons—Subsequently thrown out—Disappointment of Wilberforce and Grant—Grant's early efforts for a Mission in Bengal—Applications to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Letter from the Rev. George Burnett of Elland—Answer from Grant—Interview with the Rev. Charles Simeon—Claudius Buchanan—Interviews with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London—Discussions at Wilberforce's and Thornton's on the foundation of Church Missions—Meetings of the Eclectic Society—Founding the Church Missionary Society—Grant not present, but appointed a Vice-President—Chief part in its foundation attributable to Grant.

CHARLES GRANT reached England at the commencement of a most critical period in the history of Europe. The first public news which he must have heard on his arrival was that of the storming of the Bastille and the march of the populace of Paris on Versailles. During the first two years of his new career in England there was a lull, which preceded the terrible tempest of the succeeding years. The French Revolution made a

deep mark on the history of the countries adjoining France as well as upon her own. Happily for England, the hand of the Almighty Ruler of nations appears to have been laid both on the people and on their leaders, gently guiding them in the direction of moderation, sagacity, and prudence. This country, after a brief period of perplexity and doubt, rose from the strain laid on her, purified and strengthened. Her preservation from tumult and anarchy is to be attributed, in a great measure, to the piety and patriotism of many of her sons, who, under the guidance of God, were led to devise such schemes as manifestly redounded to His glory and the benefit of mankind.

Among those who thus laboured for their country's welfare, no name stood forth more prominently than that of William Wilberforce. Elected a Member of Parliament at the age of twenty-one, and chosen as Member for his native county of Yorkshire, he was early initiated into public life. Endowed with a private fortune which rendered exertion for his livelihood needless; with a sweet and modulated voice, a charming manner, and a ready wit; with a natural eloquence that captivated all who listened to him, he was, in early life, the gayest and most light-hearted member of the highest society in London. While still quite young, however, he gave his heart to God, and consciously yielded himself to His blessed service; and, before he was six-and-twenty, he devoted all his great talents to promoting His cause. It seemed as if the Lord had chosen as His instrument one in the higher rank of life so as to influence in England the very class who, by their callous indifference, had brought upon themselves the hatred of the populace in France.

No one could have been more thoroughly sincere in his intention and desire to do good than was William Wilberforce. Acting on the sound common-sense

advice of good John Newton, he did not withdraw himself from society or give up his former friends; but he remained among them with the one object of doing as much good among them as he could, and of influencing them to enter the same service in which he himself delighted. While in the world, he was not of it. His simple aim was to do the will of God, and to carry into practice His gracious designs.[1]

Wilberforce gathered round him a choice group of private and political friends, who assisted and upheld him in all his arduous undertakings. They became his trusty counsellors and advisers, some being within and others outside Parliament. They helped him to prepare and sift and analyse evidence; and, what was of still greater consequence, they influenced popular opinion. We believe that these philanthropists and statesmen were the most honest, straightforward, and consistent men that this country ever produced. They never pandered to party, nor pleaded for place or power. Their one object was the good of mankind and the honour of their country. Still more, they sought not the interests of their country merely. They considered the interests of the whole world.

At this eventful time Grant became Wilberforce's intimate friend. This intimacy influenced the remainder of his life. He was introduced by it to new friends and new scenes. He entered with all his heart into the plans and schemes which interested William Wilberforce and his friends. Just at present we need mention only one of these — Henry Thornton. There was, perhaps, no one whom Wilberforce loved so tenderly and valued so highly. This affection was heartily returned.

"When I entered life," Thornton said, "I saw a great deal of dishonourable conduct among people who

[1] *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, by Sir James Stephen, p. 483. Longmans, 1868.

made great profession of religion. In my father's house I met with persons of this sort. This so disgusted me that, had it not been for the admirable pattern of consistency and disinterestedness which I saw in Mr Wilberforce, I should have been in danger of a sort of infidelity."[1]

It does not appear when Grant made the acquaintance of Henry Thornton, but it must have been during the first few months of his residence in England. The intimacy with him soon ripened. In the years 1791 to 1793 they were much together, and in 1794 Grant became Mr Thornton's next-door neighbour. His estimate of Henry Thornton's character will be best understood by a quotation from a letter to Mrs Grant dated 14th September 1794.

"I went," he wrote, "to Clapham Saturday, and went to Mr Robert Thornton's to dinner with my host, Mr Henry Thornton, who had been rather unwell, but still increasing in the pursuit of doing good. He has indeed a mind so disciplined and trained, so godly, so divested of self, and so active to glorify God and benefit men that a near view of him is a most humbling lesson. . . . I have had good opportunities in my visit. I have seen men really living to God in the current of their thoughts, actions, and aims."

When Grant came within his charmed circle, William Wilberforce was in the first flush of his social and Parliamentary fame. He had just entered his thirty-fourth year. He was immersed in the gigantic struggle which, lasting for nearly twenty years, ended in the Abolition of the Slave Trade throughout the British dominions. Grant threw himself heart and soul into this conflict, and became one of Wilberforce's firmest and strongest allies even to the end of the struggle. Until his election as one of the East India Company's Directors, when his time was more fully occupied in

[1] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. i. p. 374.

other pursuits, Henry Thornton and he acted together as Wilberforce's most trusted lieutenants; and after the final victory on that memorable day, 23rd February 1807, he was one of the group who met in Old Palace Yard to offer Wilberforce their most cordial congratulations.[1]

We have before us a packet containing several letters and notes addressed by William Wilberforce to Grant; but they are generally on mere matters of passing interest, and do not merit reproduction. We here give one of the earliest, both because it shows the affectionate terms on which they stood towards each other, and because of the intrinsic value of the inquiries which Wilberforce was at that time making. It was a time of much agitation, of great anxiety, and even of peril, throughout this country. Grant was then staying in Norfolk with Parry.

William Wilberforce to Charles Grant.

WILFORD, near NOTTINGHAM, 29*th November* 1792.

I never mean to treat you with any ceremony; and therefore I shall not apologize for not having replied to your last letter. . . . I shall be much obliged to you, if, whilst you are in Norfolk, you will endeavour to ascertain the state of mind of the bulk of the people, whether the writings and doctrines of Paine have been propagated, and with what effect. Let your intelligence be as particular as possible, specifying, for instance, the disposition of the Churchmen and Dissenters, whether any religious men seem to be infected. I think the time is approaching which you fixed for taking possession of your house in John Street. I have foreborne reading a pamphlet on Sir John Shore's appointment, thinking it better to reserve that subject for discussion with you. "I trust all goes on well with you," he adds in his own hand, the above having been written from dictation; "I think of you daily, as I trust you do of me. I had a letter from

[1] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. iii. p. 302.

John Clarkson very lately, dated 11th September—nothing very particular. I thought Henry would be careful to send you the former account or you should have heard from me.—I am, ever yours, W. W.

"Kind remembrances to Mrs Grant and all the young ones, to Mr and Mrs Venn, and Mr Parry. Let me have three lines from you soon."

In June 1791 Wilberforce left London, and all the anxieties and troubles and vexations of London society and of Parliamentary toil, "to wash away," as he quaintly said, "the *sordes* of the Session" with the waters at Bath, which were then in great request, so that he might have time for thought and study. He took Perry Mead, a house about a mile out of Bath, for this purpose. He was within reasonable distance of Cowslip Green, where he could enjoy the congenial society of the Misses More; but he generally remained at home with a few chosen friends, of whom the chief were Henry Thornton, Grant, and Eliot.[1] He soon found that Grant was an excellent man of business, and he recorded this fact in his Diary on 30th September 1791.[2] All were warming to the work in preparation for the ensuing Session. Wilberforce had in November gone to his friend Gisborne's, Yoxall Lodge, for rest and recreation, and was staying there in peace, when, on 14th December, Thornton and Grant drove thither post-haste to drag him back to London, where they considered his presence necessary. Their arrival is mentioned in his Diary thus:—

"14*th December*.—At night Henry Thornton and Grant came in suddenly. 15*th*.—At work on Sierra Leone business most of the day. Thornton has been at it the whole day for some months."[3]

[1] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. i. p. 304. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 314.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 322.

Grant announces his arrival at Yoxall Lodge to his wife in these words:—

"14*th December*.—I have only time to inform you that I arrived here last night safely, was received politely, am situated agreeably, employed incessantly, —and the post just going out."

Accordingly the three friends left Gisborne's hospitable abode, and returned to Town on Saturday the 17th. Immediately on arrival there, they set to work on the same sacred cause.

"All this week," Wilberforce wrote, "at Sierra Leone business, and therefore staid in the City with Thornton. Grant with us always at Thornton's—chosen Director (of the Sierra Leone Company) on Tuesday (20th December 1791). [1]

There is no necessity to record all the services rendered by Grant to the cause of Abolition. Enough has been said to show that, next to Henry Thornton, no one did more to strengthen Wilberforce's hands than he. At the beginning of August 1792 Wilberforce again went to Bath for the waters, and he was pleased to have the company there of Mr and Mrs Grant and their eldest daughter Maria.[2] "Since the Grants are with me, I study less" is the way he described this pleasure. Grant was, however, summoned to London for the important consultation on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal with Mr Pitt and Mr Dundas, which has been previously mentioned. It has also been stated that Grant was deeply interested in the appointment of John Shore as Governor-General of India. He was very anxious that Wilberforce should become acquainted with his friend before the latter left for India, and Wilberforce willingly responded, for both foresaw that most momentous issues were in-

[1] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. i. p. 325. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 363.

volved in the coming discussions on the renewal of the Company's Charter. Upon 15th September Wilberforce made the following entry in his Diary :—

> "At Grant's persuasion returned to Clapham for the purpose of seeing Shore, and instituting a connection with him for the sake of Indian objects."[1]

During the year 1792 Wilberforce, while retaining his house in Old Palace Yard, just opposite the House of Commons, also shared Thornton's house at Battersea Rise. The Hon. Edward J. Eliot lived in a neighbouring house, which Wilberforce subsequently occupied. Eliot was Pitt's brother-in-law, having married that statesman's favourite sister. Her early death nearly broke her husband's heart; but it helped to impart to his character a halo of chastened piety, which tended to endear him more than ever to his friends. It was proposed that he should be appointed Governor-General of India in succession to Sir John Shore; but illness prevented what promised to be an excellent appointment.[2] Not long afterwards Grant occupied the house he had built next to Thornton's, so that these friends were within easy reach for conference and counsel.

The great question of the Slave Trade was not the only public question that drew them together. The East India Company's Charter, which every twenty years had to be renewed by Parliament, was drawing to an end, and a vigorous effort was made in that Assembly by Wilberforce to have a clause inserted in the new Charter recognising the duty of promoting the religious and moral improvement of the people of India. As Henry Thornton was Wilberforce's right-hand man in the Slavery question, so Charles Grant was his chief

[1] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. i. p. 368. A letter from Sir John Shore to Wilberforce from Calcutta shows how much he valued this new friendship. *Lord Teignmouth's Life*, vol. i. p. 241.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 192.

counsellor and adviser in all questions connected with Indian affairs. After carefully studying the subject, and after consultation with the Speaker of the House of Commons and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Wilberforce moved certain Resolutions to this effect. It would appear that Grant himself drafted the Resolutions which his friend moved. The preamble ran as follows:—

"That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British Dominions in India, and for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement."

The first Resolution referred to ministers of religion and chaplains being sent out to minister to Europeans. These clauses were passed in the Committee of the House and in the House itself on 14th May 1793, and, three days later, another clause was accepted, empowering the East India Company to send out schoolmasters, and other approved persons, for the religious and moral improvement of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India.[1] Wilberforce was both deeply affected and sincerely delighted at his success in obtaining the approval of the House to these Resolutions. Two days afterwards he went to see Grant, and found Miss Hannah More with him. They rejoiced together. He thus records this interview in his Journal:—

"Called at Grant's—Miss More there. The hand of Providence was never more visible than in this East Indian affair. What cause have I for gratitude, and

[1] The complete text of these clauses will be found in *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. ii. p. 392, App., and in Kaye's *Christianity in India*, p. 518, App. V.

trust, and humiliation! How properly is Grant affected! Yet let me take courage. It is of God's unmerited goodness that I am selected as the agent of usefulness. I see His overruling power."[1]

These clauses were, however, struck out on the third reading of the Bill. The Court of Proprietors of East India Stock had held a special Meeting in the interval, and had passed a resolution against them.[2] Wilberforce's earnest protestations were in vain, and he recorded his final discomfiture in indignant fashion in a well-known phrase.[3] Grant was present, and heard the debate. Writing to a friend in India, he said:—

"I was in the gallery of the House, and had one melancholy pleasure, that of seeing Mr Wilberforce in the face of that House stand forth as the bold, zealous, animated, and able champion of Christianity, and of the propriety and duty of communicating its blessings to our heathen subjects. But the success was less than the cause and his eloquence deserved."[4]

The passing of the measure which was so earnestly advocated by Wilberforce and Grant was only postponed. The fact was that the nation was not ready for the change. Public opinion had not really grasped the question. The Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors were both strenuously opposed to it. This failure led, however, to the question being sifted, and pondered, and eventually understood by the nation. It brought out the energies and the active support of some of the best of the Company's officials; it led to the triumphant passing of the clauses, when, twenty years later, the Company's Charter was again renewed;

[1] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. ii. pp. 24, 25.

[2] *Report of the Proceedings of the Proprietors of East India Stock*, May 23, 1793, by William Woodfall.

[3] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. ii. p. 27.

[4] *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward*, by J. C. Marshman, vol. i. p. 48. London, Longmans, 1859.

and it ensured true religious liberty in India, where this principle had hitherto been flagrantly ignored.

Amidst all his exertions in other directions Grant ever kept his eye fixed on the evangelisation of India. Some of the earliest entries in a note-book which he kept allude to this subject. On 23rd August 1790 these words occur :—"Faint hopes people have of Missions." On 13th September he wrote to David Brown, and mentions, besides other items of intelligence, a visit to the office of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge at Bartlett's Buildings, and describes his reception and hopes. During his visit to his relations in the North of Scotland he still kept this subject in mind. On his return journey, he undertook a trip of fifteen miles over a bad road to Elland, in order to have a conversation regarding it with the Rev. George Burnett; but Mr Burnett was absent from home, and the proposed interview did not take place. In a memorandum written at Dunham on 26th November, referring to this visit, Grant wrote :—"Mr Burnett, Elland—look to any notice from him." "Notice" must have been received almost immediately, for the following letter was written to him on the 23rd.

The Rev. George Burnett to Charles Grant.

ELLAND, *23rd November* 1790.

It would have given me much pleasure to have seen you at Elland, had our God, who orders all things in Providence and Grace, seen it meet that I had not been a few days from home at the time when you did me the honour of a visit. Though deprived of that pleasure, yet I still much rejoice in the tidings communicated by the note you left for me of some favourable appearances in the Province of Bengal; and that missionaries are wanted, who know and love the Redeemer, to spread abroad the light of His Grace and His Truth, in that very populous but still darkened region. Could I, dear Sir, be in any way instrumental hereto, I beg leave

to give you all the assurance I am able. You cannot write to me too fully or command me too freely. This county above most others, has, for the space of twenty years past, abounded with faithful ministers of Christ; and the prospect brightens daily that their number will be increased. Of these I am most intimately connected with twenty, who meet at my house four times every year, and are jointly engaged in a very useful plan of educating poor serious young men for the ministry. It seems to me therefore by no means improbable that, if there is a prospect of promoting the cause of Christ in any signal manner, whether in Bengal or elsewhere, some or other of our members, or those connected with us, may esteem it their duty to comply with your request.

This letter shows that Grant had, within four months, got into close touch with several of the Evangelical clergy of that day. It is no wonder that, after receiving such a sympathetic letter, he wrote in rather too hopeful a strain to David Brown as to his expectations and prospects on Mission matters. The following was his reply to Mr Burnett, which gives a full statement of affairs up to January 1791:—

Charles Grant to the Rev. George Burnett.

LONDON, QUEEN SQUARE,
12th January 1791.

Within the last fourteen years the Lord has been pleased to raise up some Witnesses for Himself among the Europeans in Bengal. I was among the first favoured with an awakening in that period, and of my friends and Connections, there is now a little Society, most of them brought to the knowledge of the truth within that same time. In that period too there has been an improvement in the Character of some of the India Company's Chaplains; a handsome Church has been erected in Calcutta, where Services and attendance are to be seen better than formerly prevailed; and, what is most important, first one and then another Gospel Minister has been sent to that Country, their labours having been invited at a Church where a Danish Missionary formerly

officiated, which is still connected with the London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. There was, before I left Bengal, an attendance at the Evening Lectures, of which no Example had before appeared in that Country, several hundred Europeans who had in general visited no Church becoming regular hearers, a change which we may trust has the good hand of God for its cause, and will, though it may be opposed in some shape or other by the Enemy, be productive of more happy Effects.

This is the favourable appearance of which I made mention to you in my note; and the present fuller account is given as well to explain what I then said as to lead to the subject principally in view; for one Consequence of increased attention to the Gospel in that Country has been the formation by some individuals there of a Proposal for a Protestant Mission upon a large scale to the Heathen in Bengal, and this is the particular business I have to lay before you. This proposal was sent in 1787 to some of the Dignitaries of the Church and to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, more confidentially to Messrs Romaine, Newton, Cecil, and Foster; to Mr Simeon of Cambridge, and lately to Mr Wilberforce. The framers of the Proposal conceived the support of the higher Powers to be extremely important to the design; and, therefore, thought that an attempt might be made to obtain it.

The Proposal was received with great approbation here, and Mr Wilberforce was disposed to become the active Patron and Promoter of it; but he was engaged, as he is still, in another great Undertaking for the Service of the Human Race, which it was necessary first to bring to a Conclusion. I feel that a Person coming from Bengal may with some advantage stir in recommending such a Scheme for that Country to people here. I have, through Mr Wilberforce's good offices, lately had some intercourse with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. I find them well disposed, and Mr Wilberforce, after several conversations with him, seems to have a good hope that the Scheme may in some shape be brought to bear.

Now you will see that if it should please the Lord to give success to this Proposal, there will be a number of missionaries wanted. We have mentioned

eight: many more might be employed; but, perhaps, one of the most arduous parts of the Scheme is to find even that number with the requisite qualifications, and at liberty to go, and, having found them, to obtain their election.

The Rev. Charles Simeon's services were early enlisted in the cause. Even before the end of 1790 Grant had made his acquaintance. On one of their journeys to Dunham Lodge, Mr and Mrs Grant—probably in October 1792—had stopped at Cambridge, where they enjoyed an opportunity of conversing with Claudius Buchanan, then an undergraduate at the University, where he had been placed by the thoughtful bounty of Henry Thornton.

"Mr and Mrs Grant," Buchanan wrote, "passed through Cambridge lately. Mr Simeon and I dined and supped with them. I hope the conversation of that evening was useful to me. From hearing various accounts of the apostolic spirit of some missionaries to the Indies, and of the extensive field for preaching the Gospel there, I was led to desire that I might be well qualified for such a department, in case God should intend me for it."[1]

This is the first intimation of Buchanan's desire for ministerial labour in India, where he became a most distinguished and accomplished Orientalist. It will be observed that, in the letter above inserted, Grant had, through Wilberforce's kind exertions, been introduced before January 1791 both to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Archbishop Moore) and to the Bishop of London (Bishop Porteus), who, as Grant expressed it, were "well disposed." So he continued his efforts without bating a jot of heart or hope. The next letter bears upon this subject, which was continually in his

[1] *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D.*, by the Rev. Hugh Pearson, vol. i. p. 77. Oxford, 1817.

thoughts. In the opening sentences he refers to a Missionary Society already established, and we infer from the way in which he alludes to it that this must have been the Baptist Missionary Society, which was founded in the year 1792, while the negotiations in which he was principally interested were in progress. He might, however, have been writing a little later, and have been referring to the foundation of the London Missionary Society in 1795, which was then known as *the* Missionary Society ; but he cannot mean the Church Missionary Society, because he expressly mentions the fact that he had been acting with others "in some matters of this kind," namely, Simeon, Wilberforce, and Thornton, he himself being the leading spirit.

Charles Grant to a Friend in high Position.

23rd April [1793].

I have procured, and now send you the account of the rise and proceedings of the Missionary Society lately formed in London. To prevent misconceptions, it may be as well to remark to you that neither I nor the persons with whom I have acted in some matters of this kind have any concern direct or indirect in the present Institution. Nor indeed have I ever found leisure to peruse thoroughly the pamphlet which now waits upon you ; but I say not this as disapproving of the design, which I think highly laudable, nor as censuring the conduct of that design, for in the main I take it to be proper, though some who do not enter into the views and sentiments of the writers may deem their scheme superfluous, and their temper unnecessarily warm. But of things that we do not attentively examine and intimately know we cannot accurately judge.

Carrying out his own idea that the sanction and approval of the Indian Government was essential to the success of a Mission in Bengal, he had again written

to Lord Cornwallis on the subject. As might have been expected, the Governor-General was as little inclined to give his official sanction as he had been when a similar request was made to him before Grant left Calcutta. Writing to Mrs Grant, who was on a visit to Mr and Mrs Parry, on 4th January 1794, he said:—

"I received at Mr Raikes's a large bundle of Bengal letters dated in March last. . . . My reference was before Lord Cornwallis. He behaved as I expected on the occasion with propriety and yet with kindness. Both Mr Chambers and Mr Brown appear from their letters to be advancing in a happy state as to spirituals. It has been good for them that they were afflicted. Sir John Shore has written to me in very friendly terms. He tells me what I am cut to the heart to hear, that Lord Cornwallis is decidedly against a Mission scheme. Neither does his Lordship favour our Sierra Leone scheme. The Mission Church is enlarged."

In her reply Mrs Grant makes the following characteristic remark:—

"I am glad you have heard from Mr Chambers, and that your reference was made; but I am anxious to know particulars of the result. His Lordship's being decidedly against a Mission scheme is certainly lamentable, though, indeed, we learn from Mr Milner's *History* that Christianity was generally propagated and flourished against, and not with, the will of the great and noble. A striking proof of its divine original."

The "Mission scheme" was, however, gradually being unfolded, till it was at last brought to a successful issue. Simeon, Wilberforce, Thornton, Venn, were severally inclining towards it. Grant, with his practical knowledge of India, its people, and its requirements, was the very man whom they needed to stimulate and encourage them. The course of his thoughts on this important subject became united with the

ideas of Simeon and Wilberforce, and flowed with theirs in one combined current, so that the story of his life becomes completely commingled with theirs, and at this period it cannot be thoroughly understood without constant reference to them. He was now living at Battersea Rise, and the meetings of the friends were generally held in Thornton's house.

The first notice of these gatherings occurs in Wilberforce's Diary on 22nd December 1796:—

"House—Went home with Dundas and Pitt, and staid awhile, discussing Mission business in hand."[1]

The next entry is:—

"Breakfasted early with Dundas and Eliot on Mission business; Dundas complying, and appointing us to dinner again, where Grant and David Scott also—sat long."[2] (It was then in contemplation to appoint Mr Eliot as Governor-General.) "26*th*.—Grant, Eliot, and Babington at dinner—consultation on East Indian missions, and discussing all the evening."

A few weeks later there were further discussions.

"14*th February* 1797.— . . . There is considerable probability of our being permitted to send to the East Indies a certain number of persons—I presume we shall want ten or twelve—for the purpose of instructing the natives in the English language, and in the principles of Christianity. But the plan will need much deliberation. I really dare not plunge into such a depth as is required without previous sounding; lest, instead of pearls and corals, I should come up with my head covered only with sea-weed, and become a fair laughing-stock to the listless and unenterprising. When I return to town, we will hold a cabinet

[1] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. ii. p. 186. *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Rev. C. Simeon*, by the Rev. Canon Carus, p. 117. Third edition. Hatchards, 1848.

[2] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. ii. p. 186.

council on the business. Henry Thornton, Grant, and myself are the junto."[1]

The name of the Rev. Charles Simeon next occurs in Wilberforce's Diary.

"*20th July* 1797.—To town, and back to dine at Henry Thornton's, where Simeon and Grant to talk over Mission Scheme."[2]

"*22nd July*.—Simeon with us—his heart glowing with love for Christ." "How full he is of love, and of desire to promote the spiritual benefit of others."

Again, nearly four months afterwards, success seemed to approach nearer.

"*9th November*.—Dined and slept at Battersea Rise for missionary meeting—Simeon—Charles Grant—Venn. Something, but not much, done—Simeon in earnest."[3]

While these gatherings were taking place at Battersea Rise, the same subject had been occupying the attention of others who were equally interested in promoting a true missionary spirit in the Church of England. The Eclectic Society, which had been founded for the purpose of discussing important ecclesiastical questions, and was composed of Evangelical clergymen and laymen, had about this time been considering the Missionary problem. Both Simeon and Grant were members of this Society, and were present at a meeting on 18th March 1799. The latter, contrary to what we would have supposed, merely advocated the founding of a Missionary Seminary. The former eagerly urged the immediate foundation of a Missionary Society. In reply to the question, "When shall we do it?" he eagerly urged, "Directly: not a moment to be lost. We have been dreaming these four years,

[1] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. ii. p. 192. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 225.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

while all England, all Europe, has been awake."[1] This discussion led to the establishment of the Church Missionary Society. Less than a month afterwards, on 12th April 1799, a small gathering of friends took place in a room at the Castle and Falcon Inn, Aldersgate Street, and founded that Society, which was then called "The Society for Missions to Africa and the East." Though Grant was not present at this meeting, he must have taken the liveliest interest in the event, and there must have been some very good reason for his being absent on such an important occasion. The most probable reason is, that on the previous day, there had been an animated debate in the Court of Directors, of which body he had previously become a member;[2] and that he would not, in consequence, have been able to attend the meeting in Aldersgate Street, which took place at an early hour on the following morning. His name was placed among those of the Vice-Presidents then appointed, afterwards, for a time, called Governors.[3] The original letter informing him of this appointment has been preserved, and is now lying before us. It also contains a summons to attend the first meeting of the General Committee on Monday, 15th April. He was not able to be present; but he wrote accepting the appointment of Vice-President, and he attended the second meeting on 20th May. His other important avocations prevented him from attending the meetings of the Committee frequently; but he went there whenever his services were particularly needed, or when his counsel was specially sought. For instance, he was in the chair on two occasions, when the subject of a grant to Bishop Middleton

[1] *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Rev. Charles Simeon*, p. 124.

[2] MS. Records of the East India Company.

[3] *Early History of the Church Missionary Society*, by the Rev. C. Hole, pp. 38, 40, 42. Church Missionary House, 1896.

for the foundation of Bishop's College at Calcutta was discussed, namely 21st June and 12th July 1819.[1]

Charles Grant's constant labours for the evangelisation of India and the cause of Missions were abundantly rewarded. Although the new Society was primarily intended for Africa, and its early efforts to enter Bengal itself were frustrated, he lived to see the complete fulfilment of his desires and hopes by the Province of Bengal being occupied by this Society. The utmost reverence and honour are due to the other good and noble men who combined to found the Church Missionary Society; but there was no one who did more to prepare the way for it than Charles Grant. If any single person could justly be called the founder of the Society, it is he. From the moment of his conversion till the realisation of his most sanguine hopes in the establishment of this Society, he steadily kept in view the welfare of the people of India as well as the glory of the divine Lord and Master whom he consistently served; and no name than his is more conspicuous in the early history of this Christian enterprise.

[1] *History of the Church Missionary Society*, by Eugene Stock, vol. i. p. 188.

CHAPTER XI

DOMESTIC LIFE AND PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

A.D. 1790 TO 1799

Education of his sons—Placed under the private tuition of the Rev. John Venn—Letter to Mr Venn—Letter to James Grant—Birth of a third son—Scruples about pecuniary transactions with George Udny—Letter to his sister—James succeeds his father as head of the Shewglie branch of the clan—Purchases the Redcastle Estate—Letters from Grant to his wife—Letter from Thornton hinting that the appointment of Governor of Bombay might be offered to Grant—Letter about the Clapham Sect—Acquaintance with Hannah More—Letter from Grant to Miss More—Popular literature—Literature for children.

One of the first subjects which engaged Grant's attention on his return to England was the education of his sons. He entertained a strong objection to public school education as it was then practised; but, at the same time, he recognised the practical difficulties that attended education at home. He was, therefore, led to regard with favour private tuition in a clergyman's family, and he soon began to look out for one to whom he could entrust his sons for such training as he could approve. He thus mentions the subject to his sister while he was staying at Dunham Lodge:—

"I point out the need for staying in town now in reference to our elder children. They have already lost much time, are well advanced in years, and nothing is more indispensable than to make an immediate use of the portion of youth that remains. I consider principles as more essential than forms or places—to the last, I would have no exclusive attachment; but

being here, and thence able to look personally for such a Tutor as I want, the urgency of the case points to me to do so, and I have met with one who has the most general and unequivocal testimonies of great piety and great learning, who, being a clergyman in easy circumstances, had no thought of undertaking anything of this nature, but out of regard to our friends, Mr and Mrs Parry, and to us through their long-continued partial representations to him, who is their neighbour, will for a time take our boys under his care."

The clergyman to whom he thus referred was the Rev. John Venn, then Rector of Little Dunham, and a near neighbour of the Parrys, and Grant, while staying with his friends, enjoyed ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with Mr Venn, and his qualifications for imparting knowledge. He must have been a first-rate scholar and a tactful teacher. Both boys readily responded to his instruction, and they became far better students than could have been expected, considering the fact of their having been kept so long in a tropical climate, and the comparative backwardness of their early education. Mr Venn afterwards became Rector of Clapham; was one of the foremost in founding the Church Missionary Society, and was the father of its most eminent Secretary; and just lived to see the help given to their father by his former pupils, when the East India Company's Charter was renewed, an event in which he had taken the deepest interest. After he had left Little Dunham, the boys continued their studies under his successor, the Rev. Henry Jowett.

While Mr and Mrs Grant were residing in John Street, Bedford Row, another son was born on 23rd June 1793, who was named William Thomas after his sponsors, William Wilberforce and Thomas Raikes. He was the youngest of the family. He nominally followed the legal profession; but we do not think that he ever practised as a barrister.

During the year after his return from India Grant's mind was very much troubled concerning the pecuniary transaction that had taken place between George Udny and himself when he left Malda for Calcutta. After carefully studying the clause in the Act of Parliament[1] referring to such transactions, which he confessed that he had not sufficiently studied while he was in India, he was of opinion that they had infringed its provisions, and that he had profited too much, so he offered to refund to Udny 45,000 rupees, or £4500. His scrupulous conscience urged him to make restitution, which, however, Udny very properly declined to accept. The letter announcing his decision was very long and elaborate, and it cost him a good deal of labour to write, as appears from more than one draft having been made; but it will suffice if we here give the concluding paragraph, which contains the gist of the matter.

Charles Grant to George Udny.

September 1791.

Unfavourable as the proposed remedy is to me, my own credit and ease, yours (which is also so much my own), and, above all, the credit of the religion we profess, determine me to make the sacrifice. Am I straining things of the last improbability into a real danger? Am I refining too much in supposing that our case, connected as we stood, and circumstanced as the change was, could be brought within the meaning or reach of the Act of Parliament? Possibly I may. There may be a disease of mind intermingled with my thoughts on the subject. I acknowledge that I act also under an impulse separate from what I have mentioned. If a stranger to the state of Malda and its trade when I was there should say that I had received immoderately from my successor, I confess that, though from ignorance of circumstances or failing to weigh my relinquishments fairly, he might judge amiss, I could not easily bear his reflections. I should

[1] Act 24 George III., Cap. xxv., Clause 50.

fear appearances lent some colour to it; and, therefore, to be easy here also, I am impelled to the course already pointed at. This is indeed an expensive way of getting rid of apprehensions; but there seems to be solid reason for desiring security against a danger which, though but within possibility, is of a most ungrateful kind. Therefore, without considering how our accounts may at present stand, I enclose you for the specific purpose of repaying you C.R. 45,000, the principal of the bond cancelled in February 1787.

Our narrative will now return to the period immediately succeeding his visit to the Highlands. One of his most constant correspondents was his sister. The following is a letter to her, referring to his wife's health, which was the cause of much anxiety to him, and to the death of Shewglie, the head of his branch of the Grant clan. James Grant had succeeded his father in this position; but having recently purchased another estate called Redcastle, he was henceforward known by that name instead of Shewglie.

Charles Grant to Mrs Mackenzie.

LONDON, 12*th April* 1791.

Your sister has been for the last month more unwell than since our return to Town. I hope she has some foundation of constitution left, but unsettled health goes to reduce it. She wishes to visit the Highlands. How time, health, and other circumstances may answer, we shall see when the time arrives. We have lost honest Shewglie. I have lamented for him, as for a respected relation and affectionate friend. This is a lesson to us. The decay and fall of the elder branches of our own family speaks to us in a particular manner. All here is passing away; but how hard is it to lay this soundly to heart, and in good earnest to place our affections above, and choose and follow that way in spirit and in truth, which at the last we shall be convinced is the only safety and the only wisdom! James talks of going down the end of this month. I fancy he means that his mother and sisters should live with him at Redcastle.

The following passages are from letters written to Mrs Grant, who was then staying with Parry and his family in their desolated home, her most intimate friend, Mrs Parry, having recently died.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

KING'S ARMS YARD, *6th July* 1792.

I arrived here (Henry Thornton's town house) at seven this morning. The journey was quiet and easy; but from the rapidity of the motion I could hardly sleep. However, by taking an hour's rest before breakfast, I find myself competent to the business of the day. There is a good deal to do in Sierra Leone affairs. Mr Wilberforce is here, and has asked after you all. I see him minding, in the midst of important worldly affairs, the one thing needful.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

KING'S ARMS YARD, *9th July* 1792.

The Sierra Leone business still continues. I heard two excellent discourses yesterday from Mr Cecil. Mr Wilberforce was with me both times, and was much pleased.

SHOOTERS' HILL, *11th July* 1792.

We came here last night in order to write. Mr Wilberforce and I return to Town to-night. I hope the Sierra Leone business will be over to-morrow.

The next letters were written to Mrs Grant in 1794, the year in which he was elected a Director and removed to Clapham. She was again staying at Dunham Lodge.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

CLAPHAM, *7th January* 1794.

Mr Wilberforce and Henry Thornton dined with me. I drank tea at Mr Cecil's with Mr Simeon. All

yesterday morning I was with David Scott (who was helping him in his canvass), and came with Henry Thornton to a late dinner with Mr Wilberforce and Mr Venn. To-day I have stayed here, and Mr Eliot and Mr Venn dine with us. I ought to get fat and well-looking in such company, but they only exhibit my leanness the more.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

Sierra Leone House,
13th January 1794.

Yesterday morning I went to Church at Clapham, and heard an excellent sermon from Mr Venn. I afterwards dined with him, Mr Wilberforce in company. With the latter I went to hear Mr Scott in Broad Street, and then took leave of my friend. I repaired to St Mary Woolnoth, where Mr Newton discoursed to parents and heads of families. He was very well, and we were glad to meet.

Several letters were exchanged between Grant and Henry Thornton, although they were frequently in each other's company. We make only two extracts from them—the first was intended to sound Grant on a matter which might have changed the whole current of his future life. It indicated a desire in some quarters that Grant should accept the Governorship of Bombay, and Henry Thornton could not have been in a position to make such a proposal without having some higher authority behind him. The suggestion thus made was merely tentative; but, if it had been accepted, there must have been some reasonable prospect of its being carried into effect. This letter may, perhaps, cast some light upon Grant's own hints as to what took place at his conference with Pitt and Dundas at Wimbledon about three months previously; but it cannot be taken for certain that it does. All that is known is, that some proposal of the kind must have been made at that time to Grant, and that he was in

very high favour with those two distinguished statesmen.

Henry Thornton to Charles Grant.

LONDON, *29th December* 1792.

Pray let me sound you on a very interesting and important point. What should you say to being Governor of Bombay? This is a short way of putting the question; but I want time for writing to-day, and I should like a hint from you in answer as soon as you can. This plain and short way of putting it is, perhaps, as good as any other. I find they are casting about for a Governor.

The question was evidently answered at once in the negative, for nothing more was heard of the subject. The next extract was on an entirely different matter. It referred to what has since been called the Clapham Sect, which was then only in its infancy, and the interests of which Henry Thornton was most anxious to foster.

Henry Thornton to Charles Grant.

LONDON, *30th September* 1793.

On the whole, I am in hopes some good may come out of our Clapham system. Wilberforce is a candle that should not be hid under a bushel. The influence of his conversation is, I think, great and striking. I am surprised to find how much religion everybody seems to have when they get into our house. They seem all to submit, and to acknowledge the advantage of a religious life, and we are not at all queer or guilty of carrying things too far.

In the year 1791 Grant made the acquaintance of Miss Hannah More and her sisters, and his intimacy with them was deepened during his stay at Bath in the following year. He heartily sympathised with Hannah More in all her philanthropic efforts, and

especially in her endeavour to prepare popular literature written in a distinctly religious tone. He entered into correspondence with her on these subjects. Several of his letters and one of hers have been preserved; but, as they are very long, we can afford space for only one of the earlier letters as a specimen of the whole.

Charles Grant to Miss Hannah More.

DUNHAM LODGE near SWAFFHAM,
26th December 1793.

Upon any terms I am glad to hear from you, when an interval of leisure or an inability to employ yourself more usefully will give you leave to favour me with a letter. I shall not, therefore, enter into any adjustment of the motives which there are on both sides for writing. You alone would not acquiesce, and I might seem as to myself to build again what I professed to pull down. I only say then that our solicitude is more lest we should be forgotten than lest we should not remember. If you will be so good to employ me from time to time, you will then have a warrant for writing, and I for troubling you. To show my disposition to be employed, I now proceed to business; but let not the issue of one commission discourage you. I lost no time in communicating your wants to Mr Venn. I also conceived that he had a good talent for narrative, and a valuable gift of prayer. I shall transcribe all of his answer that you would wish to see. "Though I hope I should not only be willing, but even desirous, to do anything which would promote the glory of God and the good of my fellow-creatures, yet I cannot think that I should have much probability of doing it with success in the way which Miss More mentions. I feel continually how much I want that simplicity and perspicuity of language which are so essential to the instruction of children. This alone appears to me an insurmountable objection. Add to this I have really no stock of anecdote or religious knowledge suitable for children. The stories I mentioned at Cowslip Green, such as they were, were of older people, and calculated only for those who were arrived at years of maturity. I really have not a single instance

of children's experience. Besides all this, I should think it presumption in me, if I were better qualified, to take the work out of her hands whom experience and Nature have pointed out to be the preceptor of children. Ask all who best understand the instruction of children, who has been peculiarly called of God to it, and every finger would point to Miss More. You will, therefore, no doubt join with me in pressing it upon her with all the force which the importance of the case demands." Thus Mr Venn. You see what you get by such applications. I have been mentioning the subject in the little circle here, but to own the truth I find no great compassion for you ; and, to be very serious, I think the work does lie extremely at your own door. You have a superior acquaintance with the way of access to the understandings and hearts of children of the poor. Who then so proper to address them ? The Lord has been pleased already to bless your labours among those classes. His arm is not shortened. Whether He bring from the sheep-folds or the more cultivated walks of life, to lead His people Israel, He bestows suitable qualifications. You would probably spend as much time in unsuccessful applications to others as would suffice for an experiment, upon which, if you deem it needful, you can have the judgment of ministers ; and since the things are so much wanted, and not at all likely to be otherwise procured, I am really humbly of opinion, without insisting more on other reasons, that you are required, and that even a sort of necessity is laid upon you, to undertake them. With respect to juvenile Biography, the only piece I can mention, besides Janeway's *Token*, is by Brown of Haddington, a very laborious and pious Scotch Seceder ; but that is liable to the same objections as Janeway's, and to others arising from reference to the prelacy, with which the people of Scotland were certainly presented in the last century. There is, however, valuable matter in that tract, and I will send it you from Town, if it please God to bring us in safety there. The fact seems to be with respect to the cases of children, that they have seldom been separately recorded, except when they have been very remarkable, and the parties have died young. But probably the early years of many persons who lived to be eminent might furnish much good

matter, and I would suggest it to you to examine this source. With regard to manuals of devotion, I suppose you are acquainted with all that are distinguished. Henry's has the advantage of being in Scripture language, though, if I recollect right, chiefly suited to adults. Dr Doddridge's Sermons on the Education of Children have many things that may very properly be made subjects of their prayers.

I too have been projecting works for others, and if you will not write for Children and Paupers, let me recommend it to you to take up in a religious view the subject of the French Revolution. It seems plain enough from the history of that wonderful event, that it originated in the corruption and abuse of Religion, in false doctrines of licentious practice, which gradually increased and strengthened each other, until at length judicial hardness, blindness of unbelief, became triumphant in the Court, among the *Noblesse*, the mass of the people, and even in the Church. Infidelity proceeding at length to Atheism with a mixture of the vain pride of philosophy and the fanciful trappings of Paganism, effected first an internal Revolution, and this soon broke forth with a volcanic eruption, that overthrew Government, the whole frame of civil Society, and everything called Religion. Now it seems to me that to trace these events to their true causes, and to mark the different stages of their operation, would be very useful to this country. They would then have a map or a glass, and might examine their own progress and present station by it. I mentioned it to a friend in London, who answered, "The world must be addressed by men whom it will hear." "Men of my stamp," said he, that is, men notorious for preaching continually unpleasant truths, "will not be regarded. Miss More is the person." I had thought some time ago of mentioning this matter to you. I wish your health would permit you to think of it.

This is an awful crisis. The works of human desolation and of impious war against the Most High proceed in France with horrible increase. The evils of that country seem to be for many days, and it is to be feared we may be severely tossed by the eddy of the whirlpool though we may not be engulfed. This seems a time of judgment, especially upon corrupt establishments, and

if we look at our privileges and the abuse of them, our light and the general prevalence of Infidelity and licentiousness in the Nation, may we safely say that we shall see no sorrow? It were to be wished men in general would be brought to serious thought upon this very serious subject.

We were invited to Lowestoffe partly by the hope of Mr Cadogan's ministrations, but the Church there was no longer open to him. The good air, pleasant bathing, and difficulty of moving a large body, induced us, being once there, to prolong our stay, though our best preacher was an honest itinerant. That quarter is in general undisturbed on the score of Religion: they plant, they fish, they marry. A worthy man who lives at Lowestoffe has undertaken, with assistance which I procured him from our London friends, to set up a Sunday School near that town. They had no such thing in a very considerable circle. The project has taken, the gentry there encourage it, and now talk of setting up another school. We have the Mendip Catechisms there; but we want Mendip instructions for the conduct of the Schools. Miss Bird left with me a set of rules in your handwriting for the scholars. Of these I have forwarded a copy to Lowestoffe, and we like them so well, that we wish for still larger directions and counsels to the Managers of the Schools. Will you or your sister be so good as to give a fragment of your time to this purpose? I ask with more freedom because the School at Lowestoffe partly springs from views taken in the neighbourhood of Cowslip Green.

CHAPTER XII

DIRECTOR OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

A.D. 1794 TO 1799

Intimation of desire to stand for the Direction—Letter to his cousin James—Letter to Mr Bebb—Opposition against Grant—Views of the Prime Minister and Dundas—Elected at a by-election—Description of the India House—Re-peopling Leadenhall Street—Number of clerks and men employed—The Court of Proprietors—The Court of Directors—Committees of the Court—"The Chairs"—Board of Control—The Secret Committee—Number of times Grant occupied "the Chairs"—Sir James Stephen's description of Grant—Impress of Grant's hand felt—Sir J. W. Kaye's estimate of him—Despatch on the observance of the Lord's Day—Influence of Lord Wellesley in Calcutta society—Buchanan's remarks—Bishop Corrie's testimony—Excessive freight paid by the Company—Interview with Lord Mornington before his departure—Ecclesiastical Appointments—Dependence on the Rev. Charles Simeon for choice of men—Mode of ecclesiastical patronage—Letter to David Brown—Claudius Buchanan—"The old Pilgrim"—Entrance into the new house at Battersea Rise—Correspondence with Mrs Grant—Description of the house—Death of William Chambers—Mrs Chambers and her family live with the Grants—Thornton's house—The Oval Library—Broomfield—Lord Teignmouth—Zachary Macaulay—James Stephen—The ladies of Clapham—Colquhoun's description of Mrs Grant—Visit to the Highlands—Expected French invasion—Financial embarrassments—Offer of a seat in Council at Calcutta declined.

GRANT'S many friends soon suggested to him the advisability of his becoming a candidate for a seat in the Direction of the East India Company. His own inclination for this position and the experiences of his past life, induced him to lend a willing ear to this

suggestion. The first intimation of this important proposal occurs in the following letter to his cousin Redcastle:—

Charles Grant to James Grant, of Redcastle.

CLAPHAM, 1*st May* 1792.

I am come to the unpleasant task of telling you that I am not likely to have the satisfaction of seeing my friends in the North this summer. You will be ready to ascribe this to causes which do not produce it, and I am unable to enter at length into motives that influence me; but I shall mention one which, I think, will have weight with you. It was proposed to me, some months ago, to come into the Direction; and, had I been of age, as the phrase is, had I been in England two years, I should have had the option of coming in at the next Election. As I was not so qualified, I did not hurry myself to make up an opinion on the subject; but my two years will expire in July, and, as a vacancy in the course of the season is probable, it will not only be necessary that I should declare myself by that time; but, in case of determining to stand, be in the way to offer myself and to canvass, for there are various candidates, and I should place myself at a great disadvantage, if I were to be in the North of Scotland at a time when that laborious business ought to commence here. You will see that this is a consideration of real importance. It is likely that my future plan of life, in a word, will be a good deal ascertained this summer; and that, therefore, I should not be absent from the scene where alone the determination can be made, for, though my remaining here does not indeed decide things one way, my going away might virtually turn them very much the other. I confess there are some other inducements to postpone my journey North, but this singly you will allow to be a cogent one. It is such a one, however, as I do not wish to speak clearly out, for though some persons here mention my name among those likely to become candidates, it would be inexpedient to profess this myself, lest, after all, the speculation should come to nothing; and, therefore,

I would confine the communication of this plain language to the Colonel, to whom you may say with the utmost sincerity on my part that it is a real mortification both to Mrs Grant and me that we do not see our friends in the North this summer. The truth is, it is time my views should be fixed, and having the prospect of some charge of my sister's boys as well as my own (this however in confidence), it becomes me seriously to consider whether the India Direction is the line I should look to or not; and, if it is, there is no time to be lost.

The part which Grant had taken in the discussion regarding the insertion in the Company's Charter of the "pious clauses," as they were called, was well known to the Proprietors of India stock, who were the electors to the Direction. This knowledge prejudiced a good number of them against him. He had also taken an active part in certain debates in the Court of Proprietors on the question of a reduction in the charges for freight demanded from the Company. He appears to have been conscious that this likewise would be prejudicial to his interests. From the heads of a letter addressed to John Bebb, who was in the Board of Trade at Calcutta, but afterwards a fellow-Director, dated 24th May 1792, he must have given an account of this discussion to that gentleman.

"The struggle," he said, "of the independent Proprietors to reduce the freight, failed by the astonishing strength of the shipping interest. I was against them — marked, and have probably hurt my views of the Direction by it."

There was evidently a very decided opposition against Grant; but yet there appears from his correspondence a clear desire to comply with the wishes of his friends in this respect, and he seems to have expressed his willingness to stand, if he should be assured not only of the support of his friends, but of

the Ministry. This was necessary, because, as is to be gathered from the following letter, the idea originated with Mr Dundas himself, who, as President of the Board of Control, had very plainly shown his confidence in him. The other candidates had freely used the names both of Mr Dundas and of the Prime Minister, and he was naturally anxious to ascertain clearly whether Mr Dundas still remained of the same opinion. Hence this letter.

Charles Grant to David Scott.

LOWESTOFF, *4th November* 1793.

I return you many thanks for your kind letter and *éclaircissement* with Mr Dundas. His answers have been agreeable to the manliness of his character and the particular attention with which he has been pleased to favour me. Indeed, after he had been so good of his own motion to propose the Direction to me, it would have been unwarrantable for me to have supposed a change in his intention, unless some conduct on my part had required such a change, and of this I was not conscious. Although I had, at the time of his speaking to me, formed no decided views with respect to the Direction, nor even with respect to remaining on the scene of public life, yet one thing I was settled in, that, if I came into the India House, it would be with the design of being of some use, and of endeavouring to justify the partiality of my friends. Resting on this public principle, and on the confidence of his support, by which doubtless my views were a good deal swayed, I waited until a vacancy should occur. When Mr Dundas made the above-mentioned proposal, it never came into my mind to question that Mr Pitt's concurrence was implied in it, and I think it hardly supposable that, in some of their conversations during a year in which Indian subjects employed so much of their time, Mr Dundas should not have once mentioned to him the intention he entertained. It is extremely desirable for us to know what Pitt's intention is on the subject. You are the fittest person to obtain elucidation on

this head. . . . If I had myself moved in this matter originally, and followed it with the eagerness of private interest, I should have no right to prefer such an inquiry; but, besides this, I have also to urge that I have very much suspended my future plan of life upon the issue of this matter. It may not be amiss to note that this overture was made to me in March, 1792, since which time no vacancy has happened. . . . I confess that, after waiting so long, it would be mortifying to find myself superseded; but we are so little judges of what is best for us, that this, perhaps, may be my truest interest. Pray give me your opinion on all the circumstances—what success the other candidates may have had; whether, if the way should be opened for me to declare myself, I should do it now; and whether I should solicit any of my friends to form themselves into a Committee to assist in canvassing.

It is quite clear that Mr Dundas had not wavered in his support of Grant's candidature. In his reply to an application for his vote, that distinguished statesman sent Grant the following courteous statement:—

"You had no occasion to solicit my vote. I was acquainted with your character before I knew your person. As there is a particular run against you, I have no objection to your making any use you please of the enclosures to this letter. (Extracts from Lord Cornwallis's correspondence with him, which have already been given.) However much I should be gratified on any occasion to prove my personal respect for you, I profess, on the present instance, to be actuated solely by motives of an anxious concern for the interests of the East India Company."

Accordingly, being strongly supported by his friends, and, as he desired, being favoured with the approval of the Prime Minister and Mr Dundas, Grant expressed his willingness to stand for the Direction. It appears, however, that his apprehension regarding opposition

was not justified on this occasion ; and we imagine that Mr Dundas's phrase, "there is a particular run against you," may have been applied to opposition at a subsequent election after he had been out of the Direction for a year by rotation. There was a contested election on 9th April 1794, when he did not stand, so far as we can ascertain ; but on 30th May there was a by-election to choose a Director in the place of Mr Nathaniel Smith. There being no other candidate, Charles Grant was unanimously elected.[1]

The old historic India House, with which Grant was for nearly thirty years to be closely connected, was situated on the south side of Leadenhall Street. Scarcely one stone of it has been left on another, and the site on which it stood is now occupied by a row of offices and shops, opposite the headquarters of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's Office.[2] We confess that we never pass down this street without a thrill of awe, as we recall the glories that it once beheld, and as we re-people the past. The House, in which the ancestors of many an Indian official for several generations laboured and toiled, was built in 1726, some seventy years before Grant took his seat as one of the Directors ; and the front, with its substantial, but rather gloomy façade, was added during his time in 1799. The portico, in which two gorgeously attired porters generally sat, was composed of six Ionic pillars on a raised basement. Above these columns was a triangular pediment with emblematic devices by John Bacon, the sculptor, representing the Commerce of the East protected by the King of England, who stood in

[1] *Minutes of the General Court*, vol. vii., from 1783 to 1797. India Office Records.

[2] It appears from Tallis's *London Street Views*, 1813, that the frontage of the India House extended from No. 11 to No. 21 Leadenhall Street. The only remnants of the House itself are a clock, three or four columns, still to be seen in the arches of the East India Avenue, and a small portion of the old walls.

the centre of a group of allegorical figures, holding over them a shield. On the top there was a figure of Britannia, with Asia on a camel to her right, and Europe on horseback to her left. The street is alive with officials in the Indian services, coming and going. Directors are driving up to the entrance in their carriages, and alighting for their hard day's labour; young officers just growing out of their boyhood shyly stepping in to receive their commissions as cadets; young Civilians ready to sign their covenants, and to take the oath of allegiance to the Company; bronzed and sun-burnt officers reporting themselves on their return from India on leave; captains of the Company's ships in their resplendent uniform, rivalling that of His Majesty's navy; dissatisfied litigants appealing against what they consider injustice in the East; agents and attorneys of disquieted Indian princes, or Indian Rajas themselves, bejewelled and turbaned; Generals returning after brilliant conquests in the field; and Governors bidding farewell to the Court on departing to assume their deeply responsible duties. The old street wears for us its ancient aspect. It is full of the stir and life and animation of by-gone years. Let us enter the House as it was more than a hundred years ago. The ground floor is occupied by Court and Committee Rooms, and the Directors' private apartments. The Court of Directors hold their meetings in what is usually termed the "Court Room," and the Court of Proprietors assemble in the "General Court Room." The Finance and Home Committee Room is the best in the House except the Court Rooms, and later it was adorned with some good pictures. The upper part of the House contains the principal offices, the Library, and the Museum. It is said that in their palmiest days the Company employed nearly 4000 men, and kept more than 400 clerks to transact the vast business of the House. Such was the palatial office of "The United Company

of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies," *Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliæ.*[1]

The Court of Proprietors, composed of those who held East India stock up to a certain amount, had ample power. They elected the Court of Directors, from whom they must be carefully distinguished: they framed by-laws, declared the dividends, and had control over all large grants of money, so that they were really the ruling body. Latterly their discussions became purely deliberative. The business of the Directors was conducted by various Committees, such as the Committees of Correspondence, Accounts, Shipping, and so forth. The Deputy Chairman and the Chairman for the current year had more power and wider authority than any other Director. In 1784 an Act was passed appointing Commissioners for the affairs of India, or, as this body was popularly styled, the Board of Control; and, by means of this body, the Government of the day were put in a position to control the proceedings of the Court of Directors, and sometimes, on extraordinary occasions, even to overrule their actions and decisions. All but three members of this Board were of ministerial rank. They had supreme power as to the issuing of despatches, and could call for any official papers they desired to consult. They generally communicated with the Court through the medium of the most important and influential Committee of all, namely, the Secret Committee, of which "the Chairs" were always *ex officio* members. The exact words of a subsequent Act creating this somewhat mysterious body were as follows:—"The said Court of Directors shall appoint a Secret Committee, to consist of any number not exceeding three of the said Directors, for the particular purposes in this Act specified."[2] The communication between the India House and the Board

[1] *Old London and New*, Cassell, Petter & Galpin, vol. ii. p. 183.

[2] Act 33 George III., Cap. lii., Clause 20.

of Control rendered the position of the gentlemen occupying the Chairs peculiarly responsible.

This was the industrious hive into which Charles Grant entered, just ten years after the above Act was passed, and one year after the Company's Charter had been renewed. He remained there during the most momentous era in the history of India and in the existence of the Company. He soon became the busiest of the busy. He threw his whole heart into the work of the House. Ere long he became Deputy Chairman and then Chairman. The latter distinguished position he had the honour of occupying from 10th April 1805 to 9th April 1806; from 12th April 1809 to 11th April 1810; and from 12th April 1815 to 11th April 1816. He was, to use the strong phrase of Sir John William Kaye, not a Director, but the Direction.[1] In the description of him by Sir James Stephen, however, in his essay on "The Clapham Sect," even stronger language is employed; and it will, perhaps, be appropriate to quote it here at the commencement of Grant's long career at the India House. It may be a little exaggerated as regards the influence he exercised in Leadenhall Street; but it expresses pretty accurately the estimate which his colleagues at Clapham had made of his abilities, his sterling character, and his power of influencing the minds of men.

"British India," Sir James wrote in his account of the various schemes for good that occupied the intellects and hearts of the brotherhood at Clapham, "was the special charge of Mr Grant, regarded at the commencement of the nineteenth century as the real ruler of the rulers of the East, the Director of the Court of Directors. At Leadenhall Street he was celebrated for an integrity exercised by the severest trials; for an understanding large enough to embrace, without confusion, the entire range and the intricate combinations of their whole civil

[1] *Administration of the East India Company*, p. 632. London, Bentley, 1853.

and military policy; and for nerves which set fatigue at defiance. At Clapham he was hailed as a man whose piety, though ever active, was too profound for much speech. With the calm dignity of those spacious brows and of that stately figure, it seemed impossible to reconcile the movement of any passion less pure than that which continually urged him to requite the tribute of India by a treasure, of which he who possessed it more largely than any other of the sons of men, declared that the 'merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold.'"[1]

No sooner had Grant taken his seat in the Council Chamber in Leadenhall Street than his hand was felt. He was not a man to hide his religious belief, or to shrink from maintaining his opinion that the influence of religion should be paramount even in affairs of policy and State. His will held its own, against all antagonists, and he had by his side colleagues, like Edward Parry and Robert Thornton, who heartily supported his efforts. While careful not to confuse things that differ, he was determined that his policy should always be the fruit of principle. One principle stood forth very distinctly, namely, that Christian men should not perform official acts in an unchristian way. Men in authority in India, as elsewhere, ought not to be called on to do abroad what they would not do at home. No one would have been further than he from entertaining the thought of compulsion in religion; but, if we read his character aright, we believe that he would have rejoiced in such a saying as that of his illustrious successor in the same Service, Lord Lawrence: "Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen."[2] There was, however, moderation in his thoughts and in his measures. So it came to pass that his will overpowered, or, rather,

[1] *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, by Sir James Stephen, p. 553. London, Longmans, 1868.

[2] See the famous Minute of the Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, dated the 21st April 1858.

over-persuaded, those with whom he came in contact in the Court.

"After he became a member of the Home Government of India," wrote Sir John William Kaye, "a marked improvement in the tone of the Court's despatches became apparent. There was a more distinct recognition, than before, of the duty of every Christian officer in a heathen land to illustrate his national religion by his own purity of conduct, and by his outward observance of the ceremonial decencies of his faith."[1]

In fact, this tone was but a return to the earlier despatches and the earlier policy of the Court in such matters, when officials like Streynsham Master and other like-minded men were in their service.

Sir John Kaye gives as an example of his assertion the despatch on the Observance of the Lord's Day in India, dated 25th May 1798, which was, as he described it, a dignified protest against the systematic desecration of the Christian Sabbath Day. It will be well to give a few extracts from this celebrated despatch, so that they can be compared with some of the sentiments expressed in Grant's *Observations*, which had been printed and presented to the Court of Directors in the previous year. The first extract refers to the building of suitable places of worship in stations where there were none, such edifices to be as plain and simple as possible.

"Having thus," the despatch goes on to say, "provided for the due observance of public worship on the Sabbath-day, we cannot avoid mentioning the information we have received that at the military stations it is no uncommon thing for the solemnity of the day to be broken in upon by horse-racing, whilst divine worship is never performed at any of those stations, though Chaplains are allotted to them. We are astonished and shocked at this wide deviation from one of the most distinguishing and universal institutions

[1] *Christianity in India*, by J. W. Kaye, p. 145. London, Smith, Elder & Co. 1859.

of Christianity. To preserve the ascendency which our national character has acquired over the minds of the natives of India, must ever be of importance to the maintenance of the political power we possess in the East, and we are well persuaded that this end is not to be served either by a disregard of the external observances of religion, or by any assimilation to Eastern manners and opinions; but rather by retaining all the distinctions of our national principles, character, and usages. The events which have recently passed in Europe, point out that the present is least of all the time in which irreligion should be promoted or encouraged; for, with an attachment to the religion which we profess, is found to be intimately connected an attachment to our laws and constitution; besides which, it is calculated to produce the most beneficial effects in society; to maintain in it the peace, the subordination, all the principles and practices on which its stability and happiness depend. We, therefore, enjoin that all such profanations of the Sabbath be forbidden and prevented, and that divine service be regularly performed. . . . It is on the qualities of our servants that the safety of the British possessions in India essentially depends; on their virtue, their intelligence, their laborious application, their vigilance, and public spirit. We have seen, and do still with pleasure see, honourable examples of all these; we are anxious to preserve and increase such examples; and, therefore, cannot contemplate without alarm the excessive growth of fashionable amusement and show, the tendency of which is to enervate the mind, and impair its nobler qualities, to introduce a hurtful emulation in expense, to set up false standards of merit, to confound the different orders in society, and to beget an aversion to serious occupations.[1]

In January 1799, Claudius Buchanan wrote to him from Barrackpore:—

"Your moral regulations of May last are come; and not before they were wanted; they have been just published, and are well received. They ought to have been proclaimed from the house-top."[2]

[1] Kaye's *Christianity in India*, pp. 146, 508, App. II.

[2] *Memoirs of Dr Buchanan*, by Dean Pearson, vol. i. p. 168.

Grant's hand is to be seen in every line of the above energetic despatch. This dignified protest against the profanation of the Lord's Day had a considerable effect on Indian society. It was supported by the example and the approval of Lord Wellesley, then Governor-General of Bengal, and there is clear evidence that the state of society in Calcutta had very much improved at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There had, indeed, been a gradual amelioration in the condition of things there since the dark days when Grant first entered the Service, and the examples of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore had not failed to leave their mark for good; but a better state of affairs so far as morality and Christianity were concerned had dawned.

"The state of society among our countrymen here," wrote Mr, afterwards Bishop, Corrie, in 1806, "is much altered for the better within these few years. The Marquis Wellesley openly patronised religion. He, on every possible occasion, made moral character a *sine quâ non* to his patronage, and sought for men of character from every quarter to fill offices of trust. He avowedly encouraged, and contributed to, the translations of the Scriptures into the native languages, and, wherever he went, paid a strict regard to divine worship on the Sunday."[1]

Not only on this question, but on almost every point, the impress of Grant's character was left on the deliberations of the Court of Directors, during the many years he was a member of that powerful and influential body, more especially during the six years when he was its Deputy Chairman or its Chairman; but, of course, from the nature of the case, it is exceedingly difficult to trace his individual views and opinions in the collective utterances of the Court on the various political and social questions that were discussed, and the com-

[1] Kaye's *Christianity in India*, p. 163.

mercial business that was transacted. A few of the matters on which his personal opinions can be ascertained will be mentioned. One case occurred soon after his election, and that can be alluded to at once; but others must be stated hereafter, as they took place later in time.

The very day on which he took his seat at the India House, a discussion on the enormous amount paid by the Company for the freight of shipping was proceeding. Grant, as we have seen, had previously taken a deep interest in this subject, and had spoken on it at a meeting of the Court of Proprietors. It was said that the Company had paid within the last few years ten millions of pounds more than the sum that ought to have been paid upon any principle of fair and open competition. He strongly advocated economical reform in this respect; and the best testimony to the value of his efforts in this matter appears in the vigorous attempt made to prevent his return at the next election, when he stood again for the Direction after he had vacated his seat by rotation.

When Grant had been three years a member of the Court of Directors, Sir John Shore completed his tenure of office, and Lord Mornington, afterwards better known as the Marquis Wellesley, was nominated to fill the high position of Governor-General. Further on we shall hear a great deal regarding his policy and views. Meanwhile, it is most interesting to observe that Grant had more than one private interview with him before his departure from England; and we have before us a private paper, which is almost dropping to pieces from very age, containing notes of the subjects discussed at one of these interviews. It is all the more interesting when we recollect how very widely the views of Lord Wellesley and those of the India House subsequently diverged.

Some Heads of my Conversation with Lord Mornington.

21st July 1797.

He wished me to inform him of all he ought to avoid, and all he ought to attend to. This order was not observed in conversation, and the first point waived for the present.

Persons in his suite—only his Brother as his private Secretary. Col. Westley in India, mentioned him for his Military Secretary.
Persons there—Barlow, Bebb, Fletcher, The Army (Abercromby), Crommelin. Nabob of Arcot—dispute with Lord Hobart. Our situation and the question of Policy with respect to our dependent Allies.
Tanjore Succession.
Decennial Settlement.
Foreign policy—internal cultivation.

A subject which closely occupied Grant's attention during the whole of his time at the India House may appropriately be considered now, for it was one which left a deep impress on his occupation of office, and on the spiritual welfare of the Europeans as well as that of the people of India. This was his ecclesiastical patronage. He bestowed upon it the most unceasing and unwearying attention. He felt how much depended upon his choice, and the person on whom he chiefly relied for the recommendation of suitable candidates was the Rev. Charles Simeon. No one at that period exercised a more salutary influence over thoughtful men at the University of Cambridge than Charles Simeon. It will be remembered that it was to him the friends at Calcutta wrote, when they drew up the Proposal for a Mission to Bengal. The covering letter which accompanied the copy of the Proposal sent to him has been preserved, and it is retained among the Simeon relics which Canon Carus entrusted to the

charge of the present Bishop of Durham. This letter is well known, and it need not be reproduced here, as the greater part of it has been printed in Carus's *Memoir of Simeon* as well as in Bishop Moule's own monograph. It bears the following endorsement written in Simeon's own hand :—

"Address to me from India, relative to a Mission to Calcutta, September 1787. It merely shows how early God enabled me to act for India, to provide for which has now for forty-one years been a principal and incessant object of my care and labour."[1]

In these words Simeon referred to the care and discrimination which he bestowed on the selection of suitable men, whom he recommended to Grant as Chaplains for appointment by the East India Company. Right nobly did he perform this sacred duty. Some of the finest characters among the Indian Chaplains were the result of Simeon's selection and Grant's appointment. A few names out of this well-known list will be stated as a proof of this assertion—Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Thomas Thomason, and Daniel Corrie are names that shed a lustre on the ranks of the East India Company's Chaplains.

The appointment to Chaplaincies was not left, like Writerships and Cadetships, to be divided among the Directors for their private disposal; but it was placed in the hands of the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman. This appears plainly from the following extract from a letter addressed by Grant to David Brown. Writing to him on 12th September 1803, he says :—

"You complain of the Chaplains sent out to India, and most justly. Do you think I have had any share in that patronage? None, I assure you, since the appointment of Buchanan. The patronage rests with the Chairs,

[1] *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon*, by the Rev. Canon Carus, p. 61. Third Edition. London, Hatchards, 1848.

as the Chairman and Deputy Chairman are for brevity called; and, except in the case just mentioned, I have never been suffered to have any influence in such a nomination. There are persons in the Court who would refuse a man merely on the ground of being recommended by me. But, though I have lamented my want of power in this respect, it has been with less sorrow, because it is very rarely that a person of proper character can be found willing to go abroad."

A packet of letters from Simeon to Grant on this subject has been preserved. The chief value of this collection consists in the evidence it affords of the conscientious way in which Simeon performed his part of this important duty.[1] The first clergyman whom he recommended was Claudius Buchanan. Buchanan's career was very remarkable. While serving as a solicitor's clerk in London, he introduced himself to John Newton, under whose instruction he gave himself to the service of the Lord. He was enabled to enter the University of Cambridge by the bounty of Henry Thornton, and his attention was first attracted to India in the autumn of 1792 by a conversation between Simeon, Grant, and himself. A Chaplaincy was procured for him by Grant, and he left England for the scene of his distinguished career on 11th August 1796. His first station was Barrackpore, and he wrote thence to Grant:—

"Lord Wellesley has been here. He was surprised when I told him that we never had divine service. He was still more surprised when he heard there were horse-races on Sunday morning. . . . The apostolic Obeck is well, and affectionately remembers all your family. He succeeds to Swartz in the title to our reverence and esteem."[2]

[1] This correspondence was published in the *Record* newspaper on November 21st and 28th and 2nd December 1902, and 23rd January 1903.

[2] *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Claudius Buchanan*, vol. i. p. 161.

Mr and Mrs Grant must both have been peculiarly gratified at this kindly reference to the "Old Pilgrim."

Soon after Grant had entered the Direction, he removed from John Street to Battersea Rise; and, during the removal, Mrs Grant and the children went to Lowestoft for change of air and scene. A few of the more interesting passages from the correspondence between husband and wife will be given.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

INDIA HOUSE, *Wednesday*, 10*th September* 1794.

I was about to sit down to dinner alone yesterday, when a note and a horse came from Mr H. Thornton in order that I might meet Miss Hannah More at Clapham, which she was to take on her way to Town. I rode in great haste, and arrived when dinner was over.

INDIA HOUSE, 11*th September* 1794.

I am in attendance here again to-day. I enclose some letters for Mrs Chambers. Tell me where we should place her baggage.

MR RAIKES', 12*th September* 1794.

I must remain till Wednesday or the Wednesday following. A material business for which I attended at the India House was not finished, and will come on at the Court on Wednesday. Next Wednesday too Lord Macartney and the Ministry are to be treated by the Court of Directors.

Mrs Grant to Mr Grant.

LOWESTOFT, 13*th September* 1794.

We visited Dr Temple (the Vicar) this morning. Miss Temple seems zealous about the Sunday Schools, and is in hopes of getting another set up. The day

being fixed for leaving John Street makes me a little melancholy. However, I trust the same kind Providence will be with us at Battersea.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

KING'S ARMS YARD, 13*th September* 1794.

I was yesterday almost all day with Mr Dundas, having dined with him. . . . I looked yesterday in the Bengal papers for Lord Cornwallis's decision on the reference I made through Mr Chambers. I found it preceded by a most friendly letter signed by that dear friend and Robert Udny. The consideration of what soon after happened to both almost brought sudden tears to my eyes.[1] Lord Cornwallis's decision on the reference was in very kind terms.

JOHN STREET, 16*th September* 1794.

I went to Clapham Saturday, and returned to-day. . . . Mr Venn walked with me over our ground at Battersea, and gave opinions on several points—one, that the four centre horse-chestnut trees should be cut down. I believe he is right. They obstruct the view. Have you anything to object? I do not intend to do much to the ground till we fairly get into the house; but, being convinced by him that all those shabby trees near the house would be better down, I have passed sentence on them. The house is now getting into more appearance of being near completion; but you must expect still to find things in an unfinished state when you enter it.

AT MR J. THORNTON'S,
Saturday, 20*th September* 1794.

I had hardly sat down to my morning task, when Mr J. Thornton called, and kindly pressed me to take a ride with him. We were just mounted when Mr Thomas Raikes joined us. We went to see an emigrant gentleman lately arrived, a friend of Mr Wilberforce's, and in returning I met Lord Cornwallis, with whom I stopped to have conversation, and Mr Thornton having proceeded, I took his house on my

[1] Robert Udny had been accidentally drowned in the Hooghly.

way to Battersea Rise to apologise for leaving him. The consequence is, he asks me to dinner, so I sit down in his study to write you a line whilst that is placing on the table; and almost the only thing I can say is, that I have done nothing I intended to do. As to the house, I see no end of waiting for workmen and the completion of all. . . . Things look awfully ill. Hardly a prospect of saving Holland. The next object will be this country, and who can tell the end? It is a time of judgment. We should now have felt more comfortable in a cottage. We must turn our house into a house of prayer, and prepare for suffering.

KING'S ARMS YARD, 23*rd September* 1794.

I slept here *solus* last night, and this morning have settled all affairs with Mr Wilmot, who is now master of the house in John Street. I left with regret, and see that it is an inconvenient, and rather a losing, business to be shifting situations. We have news from Sierra Leone. There has been an alarming insurrection there, in which Macaulay behaved with great firmness in a very trying situation, and finally overcame without bloodshed.

KING'S ARMS YARD, 14*th October* 1794.

I slept at the new house last night, but had to leave this morning to attend the India House. My object was to ascertain when you should come into it. I write while Mr Henry Thornton's carriage is harnessing. I had many thoughts on entering the new house. It is a time for prayer, not on this account only, but from the increased gloom in the aspect of public affairs. It seems to me very uncertain whether we may not be obliged to quit fine houses and possessions before this revolutionary motion in Europe ceases. I feel uneasy, therefore, at having a new house that costs a great deal. It is still extremely defective, and must be so till you have been in it some time.

BATTERSEA RISE, 25*th October* 1794.

I looked both for quiet relaxation and application to business here to-day, but I have had neither. My

time has been taken up in looking at the work going on, and examining into things still wanted. I am at a loss to supply all. . . . A happy Sabbath and a happy day to you to-morrow! You know what day it is.

This little separation was drawing to an end. The next is the last letter from Mrs Grant before entering the new house, the furnishing of which had given her husband so much trouble.

LOWESTOFT, *26th October* 1794.

We set out on Tuesday, and trust to be at Battersea Rise to dinner the next day (29th). Our new man shall accompany us on horseback, as he can ride on before and order horses, rooms, etc., which will save our waiting on the road. . . . This is indeed a day to be observed by us. May it be profitable!

There are a few references in this correspondence which require explanation. It will be observed that Mrs Grant's sister, Mrs William Chambers, and her family were staying with her at Lowestoft. Mr Chambers, to the regret of all his friends, had died at Calcutta on 22nd August 1793. His widow and children were received by the Grants on their arrival from Calcutta, and lived with them during their stay at Battersea Rise, being treated with true brotherly love and affection.

The scene of our narrative is now removed to Clapham, which, for the next eight years, was Grant's head-quarters. It is generally supposed that the friends to whom the phrase, the "Clapham Sect," was usually applied, lived at that place within easy reach of each other, and at the same time; and that, being near neighbours, they were in such close proximity as to be able to consult one another whenever they pleased. The fact is, many of them were in various parts of

the country. Others lived at Clapham, but the times of their residence there did not always synchronise. For instance, Lord Teignmouth did not settle at Clapham until 1802, the year in which Grant removed to London. The three great friends, however, and the three distinguished leaders of this noble band—Thornton, Wilberforce, and Grant—lived close to each other for eight years. In the year which the narrative of Grant's life has reached—namely, 1794—Wilberforce had for two years been sharing Henry Thornton's house, and this arrangement was continued until Wilberforce's marriage in 1797. It was in this house that most of the little cabinet councils on the engrossing subjects of slavery and Christian Missions in India were held. Here both Wilberforce and Thornton found a pleasant and congenial retreat after the business of the day, one coming from the stress of visitors or from Parliamentary worry in Old Palace Yard, and the other from his banking duties in the City. It is an old-fashioned, comfortable building, situated a little distance from the south-western end of the Common. To the left of the entrance door is a cosy study, where Thornton must have prepared his speeches, and written his articles for the *Christian Observer*. To the right is the dining-room. Passing through a passage, and out of the garden door, the visitor steps on to the lawn, which is still surrounded by elms, beeches, and firs. Looking back, a bay window is seen on the left. This is the window of the Oval Library, which was built at the suggestion of William Pitt, and is sometimes called after him "the Pitt Library." It is a complete oval. The recess at the opposite end is a bay like the window. The room is now almost entirely surrounded by bookshelves, and opposite the fire-place there is a bust of the great statesman who suggested the idea of the room.

GRANT'S HOUSE AT CLAPHAM (NOW CARLYLE COLLEGE).

[*To face p.* 230.

Grant's house, about a hundred and fifty yards to the west, is a similar building. It also faces the Common, the back being towards the south. Looking at the house from the lawn, we observe some steps leading up to the central room on the ground floor, which must have been the parlour, the drawing-room being on the right and the library on the left. The drawing-room extends right across the house, and has two windows at each end. The other two rooms have bay windows. The largest bed-rooms are over the drawing-room and the parlour, and are bright and airy. The interior of the house must have been dark, there being a spiral staircase lighted only by a skylight in the roof. The grounds of the two houses were in the old days common to both families, and the shrubberies interlaced, so that there was free access between the adjoining grounds. The house in which Eliot was then living, and in which Wilberforce resided after his death, was called Broomfield. It was about a quarter of a mile to the south-east; but the shrubberies around this house mingled with those of the two other grounds, and there seems to have been a community of interest and occupation in them all. Some of the important gatherings of the Clapham friends were held in the spacious rooms of this house as well as in the Oval Library.[1]

Grant's intimate friend, Lord Teignmouth, decided on making Clapham his place of residence after his retirement. Even before he left Calcutta, his thoughts turned towards Clapham. "I think it more than probable," he wrote to Grant so early as March 1796, "that we may be your neighbours at Clapham." Lord Teignmouth was a most excellent man, but a feeble ruler. His policy in India was too rigidly pacific, and his lack of firmness in dealing with the native States produced disastrous consequences; and history records

[1] This house is still in existence, and is used as a school, but its name has been changed to Broomwood.

that the effect of his administration was merely to raise a plentiful supply of difficult problems which were left for his successors to solve. It is, however, only just to his memory to add that to the Court of Directors should be assigned their full share of the weakness of his measures in foreign affairs and in his dealing with the princes of India. He faithfully carried out their orders with regard to the traditional policy of peace which they required to be enforced, even though it might, contrary to their intention, be attended by dishonour. Lord Teignmouth, rather gratified than otherwise to lay down the sceptre of power which he had been most reluctant to accept, gave himself on his return to England and private life to good works of every kind. On the institution of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804, he became its first President, and he entered with zest into the various schemes of benevolence and piety which engaged the time and attention of his colleagues.

Another prominent member of this community was Zachary Macaulay, father of the distinguished essayist and historian. He was intimately associated with Thornton, Wilberforce, and Grant in the anti-slavery question; and, both at Sierra Leone and in England, did loyal service in mitigating the miserable condition of the slave, and in preparing measures for abolition. He was the first editor of *The Christian Observer*, which, from its commencement in January 1801, became the organ of Evangelical religion. One of the wisest and most discreet of the community was James Stephen, father of Sir James Stephen, who, both in Parliament and in private counsel, was a source of strength in all the deliberations held regarding the philanthropic questions of the time.

The ladies at Clapham were no inconsiderable factors in the beneficent schemes and in the pleasant consultations both in the Oval Library and on the shady lawn.

Mrs Wilberforce and Mrs Henry Thornton exercised a cheering and stimulating influence over their husbands' plans, and strengthened them with their sympathy and counsel. Mrs Thornton especially was an inspiration in their schemes of mercy and of love. Deriving her gentle power from the only source whence it could be obtained in all its purity and freshness, she was her husband's counsellor until the last, when, surviving him by only a few months, in death they were not divided. Mrs Grant and Mrs Thornton were special friends. We can imagine them joining with delicate tact in the conversation, or going from group to group on the lawn with words of sympathy and approval. A very sweet and pleasing picture of the former is given by Mr Colquhoun. She was not only the loving wife and mother, who was the light and the stay of the home which for so many years she had beautified and adorned; but she was the soothing counsellor and consoler of the numerous friends by whom it was surrounded. She usually wore a light shawl over her head, moving about with silent footfall, as, full of tender sympathy, she visited those who were in trouble or affliction. Mr Colquhoun, writing of her, said:—

"Married in India, having passed in that tropical climate many of her most impressionable years, her character, naturally gentle, seemed to have mellowed into special tenderness; so that, when she left India and passed into our colder society, she brought, in her manner, looks, and sentiments, something of that sensitive delicacy which belongs to plants nursed into luxuriant growth under the heat of southern suns. The voice soft and low, the manner quiet and retiring, the dress itself, the veil thrown over the head, and falling down in folds over the figure, were all in keeping with that veiled modesty and gentle purity."[1]

Mrs Grant had not paid a visit to her husband's

[1] *William Wilberforce and his Friends*, by J. C. Colquhoun, p. 212. Second edition. Longmans, 1867.

native land since they had returned from India. Circumstances seem to have arisen, from year to year, which prevented their going thither together; but in the summer of 1796 this long-projected journey took place. Reference is made to it in the following letter to his sister, written by Grant from London, 3rd May 1796. Travelling by chaise was, in those days, no light matter.

Charles Grant to Mrs Mackenzie.

We propose, God willing, to begin our journey the first week in June, and hope to be in Inverness-shire by the middle of July. I wish to see Fort William and Fort Augustus. James has written me very heartily as to making Redcastle our chief residence. I think we can hardly do otherwise, though I dislike the idea of being burthensome, and yet it would never answer for us to set up a separate house. We shall be six in the carriage and a man-servant besides. I take it for granted your manse is unequal to the reception of such a colony as ours; but we will divide our time, and, as many as you can hold, stay occasionally with you.

This was the first occasion on which Mrs Grant had the pleasure of meeting their sister, and she thoroughly enjoyed her visit to Scotland. The following is Grant's first letter to Mrs Mackenzie after their return.

Charles Grant to his Sister.

BATTERSEA RISE, 5*th December* 1796.

Maria having repeatedly written to you in the course of our journey homewards, I have thought any information from me would be unnecessary. Through the mercy of God, we are again set down in our own residence. That we should go and return in safety through such a long journey, and so many in number, that we should also find all that part of our family which we left behind us well—these are causes for great thankfulness, and add exceedingly to the mercies and benefits which I have received the whole of my life.

Charles Grant to his Sister.

LONDON, *26th February* 1797.

. . . It is, we may fear, a time of chastisement; and, if the French are permitted to be the instruments, great confusion and distress may probably ensue here. I wish my numerous family were in some snug retreat and myself upon a narrower establishment. That into which I have been insensibly led was too large, even in prosperous times, for the scale of my fortune. I hardly know how to help myself at present; but, if the French should make good a landing, I shall be disposed to send my household into the Highlands. Your manse is not large enough. You will be curious to know whether I am thoroughly in earnest in all this. I am very much in earnest, upon the supposition that we have to fight the French upon our own ground; and, according to present appearances, this is not a thing that any one should treat as chimerical, or even improbable.

Grant's sister was not only herself the recipient of generous assistance from him; but was also the almoner of his bounty to their poorer relations, to her indigent neighbours, and to the maintenance of Sunday Schools in that part of the Highlands. The next letter shows how scrupulous he was in the management of that portion of his income which he had dedicated to the service of his Lord.

Charles Grant to his Sister.

BATTERSEA RISE, *2nd July* 1798.

You have indeed sent me a heavy account, but I see no help. Charities are the last things that should be curtailed. It is affecting to think that so much of one's income should be expended on personal and family accounts and so little on benevolent purposes. . . . . My sons are at home, dividing their time between mathematics and the Cavalry Association of

this parish, into which they have entered, as I have myself, though not very well able to go through with the duties of it.

In the winter of 1797-8 Mrs Mackenzie was laid low by a dangerous illness. Letters from Grant to her husband show how keenly he felt the probability which there then seemed to be of "the last remaining tie of my father's family and one always very dear to me" being taken from them. Writing to herself a few months later, he rejoiced over her complete recovery, saying:—

"I trust I felt the eminent kindness of the Lord in your restoration, and that I shall continue to maintain a sense of it on my mind. Your danger was great and your deliverance was great. I am ashamed in considering how my days are passed in vanity, hurried and too much engrossed by things comparatively insignificant, while the proper business of life ('life,' which, as our dear brother Robert said in his latter hours, 'is but death's delay') is almost shuffled out of view, and no progress made in preparation for Eternity."

It will be observed from what has been said in some of these letters that at this time there was a very serious apprehension throughout the country of a French invasion. Grant's idea of sending his family to the Highlands as a place of refuge was no mere passing whim; but it was, as he himself asserted, a settled persuasion that this, in the event of real danger, would be the right course to pursue. It will be well here to give a letter, not addressed to his sister, but a grave statement of his intentions in writing to his cousin James.

Charles Grant to James Grant of Redcastle.

INDIA HOUSE, 25*th April* 1798.

No doubt is entertained by the Ministry or by all the best-informed people here that the French mean to

come, and that their invasion will be very formidable. The greatest danger is from their boats, which will hold four hundred men each, and have two pieces of artillery of very heavy metal. They are furnished with oars, and can come over in a calm night, when our ships cannot act, and can run into shoal water, where ships of any force cannot follow them. As they are arming at all the ports from Brest to the Texel, it is impossible that our ships can watch everywhere, and, therefore, it is generally allowed that they can land a considerable body of troops. . . . Late in life, I must assume something of a military character, though I have no longer any condition for it. My greatest difficulty is with the female part of my family. I was thinking of sending part of my household to the North. Do you think there will be safety in Urquhart?

During this time of anxiety and preparation for an invasion, which happily never occurred, there was much financial difficulty as to the national resources. Fresh taxation was naturally a burden to Grant as well as to others; and, towards the close of the century, he felt much troubled regarding his own financial position. Hints on this point appear rather frequently in his correspondence, especially in his letters to his sister.

In the year 1800 the pressure of insufficient income weighed very heavily on his mind, and he decided to unburden himself completely to Wilberforce and Thornton, and to ask their counsel on this important matter. For this purpose he prepared a careful statement containing his income and expenditure for the past five years, and his prospects for the future. The reply of his friends has not been preserved; but evidently they must have declared that, in their judgment, he had better remain in the position he was then occupying.

About the same time he received an urgent request from Mr Dundas to return to Calcutta as a member of the Governor-General's Council. If he had accepted this offer, he would have obtained the means of recruiting his fortune. The offer was made by Mr Dundas

in a peculiarly courteous and flattering manner. His letter to Grant was as follows :—

PRIVATE.]

From the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to Charles Grant.

WIMBLEDON, 17*th March* 1800.

Whether you adopt my suggestion or not, I am sure you will at least approve the motive which induces me to make it. I feel it a duty peculiarly incumbent upon me, during the period of health and spirits that may still remain to me, to make the affairs of India the primary object of my public exertions, and it is naturally an anxious wish with me that the individuals with whom I am to act should be influenced by the same conscientious views as those which, I trust, will ever guide my own conduct. Indeed, brilliant as our Indian prospects may be, if our affairs in that quarter are not strictly attended to, and ruled by pure and steady principles of government, I am positive our fair hopes will be blasted, and we shall meet with disgrace and disappointment in place of credit and honour. I am naturally led into this train of thinking by having looked over the Indian accounts this morning with a view to my Budget. Much still remains to be done. It will be proper to make some changes in the Council; and if you and Barlow could be united with Lord Wellesley in the Supreme Administration of our affairs, great good might be steadily accomplished. I have not a right to urge it; but, with the enclosed documents in my possession, I should not discharge the duty I owe to my country if I did not bring them under your view. . . .

I am the more eager in my wishes for a pure and able Government abroad when I contemplate the prospect we have how the Chairs at home are likely to be filled for some time. Inglis and Scott acting together will give me new vigour and confidence.

Grant declined the appointment which Mr Dundas had offered him with such disinterested sincerity.

There is no doubt that Dundas was simply seeking to promote the welfare of the State, and that he was exceedingly anxious on public grounds for Grant to accept the proffered position.

The mind is sometimes led, almost involuntarily, to speculate on what might have been the course of historical events if certain contingencies had occurred. In this instance it seems natural to imagine what would have happened in India during the opening years of the nineteenth century if Grant had complied with Dundas's request, and had taken his seat in the Council Chamber at Calcutta as the Marquis Wellesley's Senior Councillor. Knowing Grant's views on Indian political questions, we would ask whether everything would have gone smoothly there? Would "the glorious little man," as his disciples delighted to call him, have carried matters entirely in his own way? Would he have been able, while pacing to and fro in his room at Government House, to dictate despatches which set armies in motion converging on one point? Would the iron hand have crushed Sindia, Holkar, and the Raja of Berar? Or would another masterful mind have been brought into contact with his, and the history of British India have been completely changed?

CHAPTER XIII

HARD WORK AT THE INDIA HOUSE

A.D. 1801 TO 1806

Success of Grant's elder sons at Cambridge—Grant's illness—First intimation of a desire from his friends that he should enter Parliament—Surreptitious sale of Indian appointments—Failure to detect the offender—Parliamentary inquiry—Complete vindication of the Directors—Lord Wellesley's College at Calcutta—Disapproval of the Court of Directors—Draft of despatch—Modified scheme sanctioned—Letter to Claudius Buchanan—Suggestion of a College for Civilians in England—Grant's plan for it—Commencement at Hertford—Establishment of Haileybury College—Wilberforce's letter on the subject—Monopoly of the trade to India—Lord Wellesley's views—Grant's views—Letter to the Governor of Bombay—Grant becomes Deputy Chairman, and afterwards Chairman of the Court—Lord Wellesley's Mahratta Campaign—Brief narrative of events—Victories of Generals Wellesley and Lake—Disapprobation of the Court—Lord Wellesley's views disliked—The Directors' opinion ignored by Lord Wellesley—Appointment of Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General—Grant's views—Letter to Jonathan Duncan—Letters to George Udny—Letters to Lord Cornwallis—Intelligence of Lord Cornwallis's death received—Udny's letter announcing it—Controversy about the appointment of Lord Lauderdale—Letter to Sir George Barlow—Appointment of Lord Minto—Grant's estimate of his character—Financial embarrassment—Letter to the Governor of Madras urging retrenchment—Diligence in work at the India House—Change of residence—Foundation of the Bible Society—Death of "the Old Pilgrim."

THE new century dawned on rather a chequered scene in Grant's life. Its early weeks brought him unfeigned pleasure in the success of his two elder sons at Cambridge; but this was succeeded by a trying illness

which attacked his chest, and prevented him from using his voice, while, at the same time, he was compelled to vacate his seat in the Direction "by rotation," thus depriving him of congenial occupation. We have seen that the training of his sons had engaged his attention since their infancy. They had been kept long in India so that they might remain in their parents' company; but, after his return to England, he acknowledged that they had been detained too long in such a depressing climate. Warning his brother-in-law against committing a similar error, he wrote:—

"I think some of our young folk were kept too long in India. They suffered, however, most in their constitution, sedulous domestic instruction, for which they were chiefly indebted to their mother, except for the last two years, having preserved them from the infection which is breathed in a country inhabited by idolaters."

After their careful training under Venn and Jowett, Charles and Robert entered Magdalene College, Cambridge, where they engaged with the heartiest diligence in both the Classical and Mathematical studies of the University. In the Mathematical Tripos of 1801, when Henry Martyn was the Senior Wrangler, Charles was fourth Wrangler and Senior Gold Medallist, while his brother Robert was third Wrangler and second Gold Medallist. Both entered the profession of the law, and Wilberforce was good enough to consult Lord Eldon, then just made Lord Chancellor, about their future course of study. A kindly note from him to their father lies before us. The result of this interview is given in his *Life*. "I know no rule to give them," said the Chancellor, "but they must make up their minds to live like a hermit and work like a horse."[1] Robert practised at the Bar; but it seems that the statement of their having stayed too long in India must have been true in the case of Charles, and

[1] *Life of William Wilberforce*, vol. iii. p. 9.

that his recent application must have affected his health, for he was obliged, on account of an affection of the chest, to take a voyage to St Helena and the Cape of Good Hope to recruit his impaired strength. There are several letters from him to his mother, and from her to him during his absence; but there is no need to pursue further a brief episode in a long and busy life.

The first month of the century also brought to Grant the beginning of an event which, in a degree, changed the whole course of his life. This was, the first intimation from certain influential relations in the North that they would be gratified if he would consent to stand as Member of Parliament for their county, Inverness-shire. It will be advisable to reserve the story of his Parliamentary career until a subsequent chapter, and to pursue the narrative of his labours in the India House from the commencement of the century to the Renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813, when the duties of the two phases of his public life were blended into one.

An important, but a comparatively minor, question was the way in which the Directors exercised their extensive patronage. The English public were much disturbed by the fact that daily advertisements appeared in the newspapers, offering appointments to India for valuable consideration—that is, to use plain language, the sale of appointments. The source of these advertisements could not be traced, though strenuous efforts were made to discover their origin. Letters were, moreover, addressed to the Directors, offering them bribes for appointments. The one sent to Grant was as follows:—

TOKEN HOUSE YARD, *14th January* 1801.

I have taken the liberty to address you as one of the Hon. The East India Company. I have been applied to as agent by several gentlemen of respectability to procure a Writership or Cadet on that Establishment. I beg leave to solicit your interest for

a young gentleman, whose relations have permitted me to say that a genteel and liberal compliment will be made on his being approved by that Hon. Company. Honour and the most inviolable secrecy may be relied on. With your approbation I would do myself the pleasure of waiting on you or treat with any gentleman you may please to depute.—Yours, etc.,

WILLIAM BAKER.

Grant endorsed this letter with his own hand:—"Offer of Bribe. *N.B.*—Sent to all the Directors."

Of course Mr William Baker was a myth, and the owner of this anonym was a great deal too slippery a gentleman to be caught. When this matter was brought before the Court of Proprietors in January 1801, Grant delivered a strong and forcible speech, advocating inquiry in every possible way, and prosecution, if the authors of the scandal could be apprehended, for the "honour of the Court, the satisfaction of the public, and the importance of the subject required it." After he had entered Parliament certain disclosures on this point were made during a discussion on another subject, and he obtained the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the matter. The first meeting of this Committee took place on 14th February 1809, and their Report was presented during that year. A few instances of irregular practices were proved, on account of "the passing through several hands, which happens frequently with regard to the more numerous and less valuable appointments of cadets, that opportunities for this sort of negotiation are presented"; but it was distinctly proved that whatever may have been done irregularly was the work of underlings, and the Court of Directors were fully exculpated.

"It is a satisfaction to your Committee," it was said in the Report, "throughout the whole evidence, to remark that nothing which traces any one of these

corrupt or improper bargains to any Director, or induces a suspicion that it was done with the privity or connivance of any member of that Court."[1]

We turn to matters of political importance. Lord Wellesley, after the restoration of peace in Mysore, entertained the imperial idea of instituting a magnificent College in Fort William, in which young Civilians from all the three Presidencies should be educated, and prepared for the high duties to which they were called. They generally went out at a very early age, and they received no training after they had left the shores of England. Without consulting the Court of Directors or obtaining their consent, he established a College at Calcutta, in which training should be given to Civilians, not only in the languages of the country, its history, and its laws, but in the Latin and Greek classics, and other European learning. He appointed the Rev. David Brown Provost, and the Rev. Claudius Buchanan Vice-Provost of this College, and a staff of Professors in various subjects, among whom the Rev. William Carey appeared as Professor of Sanskrit. When the despatch announcing the creation of this College was received, it met with much opposition from the Court of Directors, who, however, referred the papers to Grant for the purpose of his preparing a draft reply which might meet with general approval. It will be seen from the subsequent letters that he was prevented by the severe illness which befell him from fulfilling this request, and the events which led up to the Court's refusal to sanction this grand scheme will appear. He does not state to whose hands he entrusted the duty that he could not himself fulfil; but there is lying before us a document which looks like the original draft prepared by himself, and the whole tone of the docu-

[1] *Hansard.*

ment reads so much like the policy which he advocated in the following letters that we cannot help believing it was his plan which the Court eventually adopted.

Charles Grant to the Rev. D. Brown.

LONDON, 19*th June* 1801.

Since the beginning of April I have been an invalid, undergoing a succession of bleedings, blisterings, etc.; such is my state now. I have kept my chamber for the last nine weeks. My complaint is an inflammation of the pleura, attended with loss of voice. Now and then, in my solitude, I have made shift to pen a letter; but in general I have paid dearly for attempts of that sort. . . . The painful agitation of some points of public business, in which I had taken part while in the Direction, has also done me much harm. Had it not been for these things, the business of the College instituted by Lord Wellesley would probably by this time have been in forwardness here. The papers concerning it were put into my hands at the end of the last Direction, in order to prepare the heads of such an answer as would be likely to meet the sentiments of the Court. Believing the Institution to be capable of producing considerable effects, not political only, but religious and moral, it was my wish especially to give as favourable a turn as I could in the answer to all its tendencies and capabilities of the latter sort; and I have, therefore, frequently longed for the return of as much health as would permit me to attempt this task, but I have longed in vain. It has pleased God to lay me by, and having no near prospect of recovery, I must return the papers which were given me that they may be used by other hands. All I now hope for is, that I may be able to accompany the papers with some hints or notes. Among these I shall take the liberty to recommend the confirmation of your appointment as Provost. I shall also suggest an acquiescence in Lord Wellesley's appointment of Mr Buchanan as Vice-Provost.

With regard to the Institution itself, there are various opinions about it here; and, on the whole, as far as I can collect, the approbation of it will not be so complete as its friends in India could wish. The chief objections made to it are these: (1) That it is far too expensive for the Company's finances; (2) That it ought not to comprehend the young men of other Presidencies; (3) That it should be confined chiefly to learning properly Oriental, and not to include a revising course of European Literature, which would be better and more cheaply provided at home. I confess I think these objections have weight, particularly the last, and Lord Wellesley's discourse, well written as it is, has failed to convince me that young men ought to be sent from this country at the age of fifteen or sixteen, which provision is, I think, essential to his plan. I own my own observation of thirty years has led me to conclude otherwise. The general idea, however, of the Institution is highly commendable, and it must be productive of good, though the plan, to realise all the effects which it looks to, would need to be superintended by a like spirit to that which has convened it; but we are to look in the course of things to Governors of very different tastes and characters, and I cannot but fear myself that, if the plan were now to be confirmed, in all its extension, it would not continue to be kept up, but gradually sink to the most obviously useful and necessary part of it, that is, the study of Oriental subjects. . . .

Your quondam pupils are men taller than you or I, well stuffed with mathematics and classics, and, what is better, I trust well principled and correct. The idea of writing something in my place of Director in favour of the great principle of introducing Christianity into our Indian possessions, I have never given up, unpromising as such an attempt is, because I think it a matter of duty, and duty that rather falls to me for want of any more qualified person to undertake it. Time is short. May the Master, when He cometh, find us ready!

Charles Grant to the Rev. Claudius Buchanan.

LONDON, *5th January* 1802.

You are particularly interested in the reception given here to the institution of a College at Calcutta. . . . When the plan arrived, I was in the Direction, and one of those who most supported it, though clearly of opinion that it embraced more than was requisite. I was desired to draw up such an answer as would pass in the Court of Directors. It afterwards devolved very much upon another hand; but this scheme was still considered too large, and, in the autumn, such very unpleasant accounts arrived of the Company's finances in Bengal that further consideration of it was suspended, and the Court have come to the resolution of postponing the adoption of it under an implied intention of instituting something at home for the better education of the young men destined for the Company's Civil Service.

In a subsequent letter Grant revealed to his brother-in-law the true reason for the wreck of Lord Wellesley's magnificent scheme. "It is singular enough," he wrote, "that he himself inadvertently furnished the means of defeat. His letter to the Court on enlarging the privilege of private traders arrived opportunely for that party to support their declining cause." It is well known how deeply chagrined Lord Wellesley was at this result, which was in a great measure attributable to the injudicious action of his own friends on an entirely different question. The final shape into which his scheme eventually fell coincided with Grant's own ideas, and the latest despatch from the Court of Directors embodied this scheme. Colleges for young Civilians were established at the Presidency towns, where they were required to pass examinations in the languages of the country before they were appointed to the direct work of their profession. A College for the training of Civilians before they left

England was a design already formed in the minds of the Directors before the plans of Lord Wellesley had been submitted to them. This will appear very clearly from the draft despatch prepared by Grant which has already been mentioned, and he expressly stated in a subsequent letter to Sir James Mackintosh that the idea had by no means been suggested by Lord Wellesley's despatch.

"The Governor-General's plan requires that young men should leave this country at the age of fifteen or sixteen. This is an impracticable condition. Relations and friends will send their connections at the period that suits them best within legal limits; and we are of opinion, on the whole, that it is more expedient young men should go out rather two or three years later than at those ages. If their principles have not been well formed, the effects will appear even at the earlier periods; if they have, they may remain with superior advantage some time longer at home, and both receive a greater portion of liberal learning and stronger habits of attachment to the religion and constitution of their native country, which must be peculiarly desirable at a time when so many novelties in morals and in politics have been set afloat in the world. We have, therefore, in contemplation to promote at home, and most probably at the Universities, some Institution which shall afford the means of acquiring, with classical and mathematical instruction, the elements of those branches of science most useful in our service abroad, such as ethics, politics, finance, and commerce, and we doubt not that this design may be better effected and with incomparably less expense than the acquisition of the same objects would cost in India, soon enough also to set the young men upon the theatre of business, if not quite at the time the Governor-General's plan proposes, yet with such greater maturity of character and qualifications as to promise their return to their native country as early as if they had gone out less furnished two years sooner."

Even though the draft despatch prepared by Grant was never accepted in its entirety by the Court of Directors, here appears the germ of Haileybury. More about this College is mentioned later in a letter to Sir James Mackintosh.

Charles Grant to Sir James Mackintosh.

17th September 1805.

I think I must have told you something of this Institution and the design of it. Its leading idea is to fill up in the manner most suitable to the destination of young men intended for the Civil Service, the years they have to pass in this country before they embark for India. We have fixed the period of their stay here to the age of eighteen, and think by a well adapted course of study to that period, the only further preparation they will need, after their arrival in India, for entering on their career there, will be the learning which is purely Oriental. Simple as the idea is of this Institution, I have found it to be no easy matter to carry it into execution. What with opposition to the design, the settlement of details, and the choice of persons for Professors, it has proved a tedious work. As to the last point, certainly a point of great consequence, I have found it, on the whole, safer in a new Institution, respecting which the public opinion was to be conciliated, rather to choose academical men versed in the art of teaching, and reputable in their several lines, than men of, perhaps, more powers, but withal more eccentric. The leading design of this Institution of ours was not the supersession of the Calcutta College. Its professed intention was its real one, to give the best education which could be crowded into the years young men destined for India should pass in this country. But it may incidentally have the effect of reducing the studies of the Calcutta College to subjects purely Oriental.

Evidently the education of the young Civil Servants

of the Company was a subject very close to the heart of Charles Grant, and the prominent part he took in the establishment of a College specially designed for this purpose is involuntarily revealed in the substitution in some passages in the above letter of "I" instead of "we." A College framed on the plan above suggested was first begun at Hertford, and afterwards removed to Haileybury, about two miles from that town, and for fifty years, from its foundation in 1805 to its abolition in 1858, generation after generation of Indian Civilians were trained there; and though there may, perhaps, have been defective discipline from time to time, there issued from that Institution a body of men who made the Indian Civil Service one of the purest and noblest Services that has ever existed in the history of the world. The English nation owed that Institution to the exertions of Charles Grant.[1]

When Grant sent Wilberforce a copy of a paper on the establishment of this College, he received the following serio-comic reply.

William Wilberforce to Charles Grant.

LYME, 24*th September* 1804.

I have been hastily running over your paper, and before I fall to work on my morning's task, which presses extremely, I cannot be comfortable without discharging myself from the feelings it has excited. I have often grudged you to the East India Company. I have quite resented your expending so much of your excellent and most assiduous culture on so ungrateful a soil; and now, almost for the first time, I begin to feel in good humour on that subject, and to see the bread you have been so long casting on the waters, at length beginning to be found. It really gives me more pleasure than I can express to you, and, perhaps, more than the thing itself warrants; but, when one has little

[1] *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, pp. 14, 227. Westminster, Constable & Co., 1894.

or no expectation of seeing so much as a blade of grass grow up, to resume my agricultural figure, one is quite filled with joy to see a fine field of corn springing up into verdure. I suppose that poor dear Charemile and her friends in Scotland are thus rejoiced, when they, if it ever happens tell her, see a tree grow up where they durst hope for no more than a bush. The grand matter will be to get good masters. But I am persuaded that, though we may not see so much as you and I would desire of deep religious impressions produced on the minds of your young men, while they are in your seminary; yet the mere circumstance of grounding them in the principles of Christianity and of morals may be of immense importance, by those early prejudices, shall I call them, or favourable dispositions towards religion, which will render them during their future lives more open to listen to the instructions of wisdom or the still small voice of conscience, when the goodness of the Almighty shall bless them with those Providential calls which will determine their fate according as they are attended to or neglected.

It will be observed that Grant attributed the failure of Lord Wellesley's scheme of a College at Calcutta to the feeling raised against him on account of the favour he had shown to the introduction of private trade in the traffic with India. Up to 1793 the East India Company had enjoyed the entire monopoly of this trade, and they were exceedingly jealous of their privileges in this respect. In the Act in which the Charter was renewed, private traders were allotted annually some three thousand tons of freight, but more freedom and more elasticity in this traffic was demanded by those outside the magic circle of the India House. Within it anything approaching open trade was strenuously resented. Outsiders were called "interlopers," and all "adventurers" were denounced. The Governor-General, seeing how the trade from Calcutta to Europe had increased of late years, did all that lay in his power to increase the number of vessels built in India to carry this traffic to the Continental ports, instead of leaving

it to foreign merchants and foreign ships. In his despatch on the subject in 1798 he stated that "it would be equally unjust and impolitic to extend any facility to the trade of British merchants in India by sacrificing or hazarding the Company's rights or privileges, by injuring its commercial interests, or by departing from any of the fundamental principles of policy which now govern the British establishments in India; but the increasing commercial resources of Great Britain claimed for her subjects the largest attainable share of the valuable and extensive commerce of such articles of Indian produce and manufacture as were necessarily excluded from the Company's investments."[1] These views met with Mr Dundas's approval.

"It was notorious," he said, "that at no period had the capital and commercial powers of the East India Company been able to embrace the whole of the wealth of India exported thence by trade to England," and he was anxious to authorise "the Government of India to license the appropriation of India-built shipping for the purpose of bringing home that India trade which the means and capital of the East India Company were unable to embrace."

This policy was most distasteful in Leadenhall Street. It would be tedious in these days of free and open trade to discuss this subject in all the fulness which delighted our great-grandfathers. It must be mentioned, however, because it is the key to the virulence with which Indian matters were argued in the time of Charles Grant. It was the secret of the animus with which Lord Wellesley and his policy were then attacked by the Court of Directors. Some of Grant's voluminous letters were filled with the inner history of this question, involving debates in the House of Commons as well as in the Courts of Proprietors and Directors, the unseating of the then Chairman of the latter, and strong

[1] Marshman's *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 127. Longmans, 1867.

personal attacks on Grant himself which troubled him much. The following abstract of his own views will suffice:—

Charles Grant to the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay.

LONDON, *8th January* 1802.

In the India House nothing has of late excited so lively an interest as the question of enlarging the trade of individuals between India and Europe. I was originally a friend to this principle, and contributed something towards procuring for the private traders the privileges conceded to them by the Act of 1793; but I have since doubted whether I was sufficiently cautious on that occasion. I certainly had at that time no idea of what a few years have produced. The footing then obtained by the traders and the advantages derived from it, serving as a platform for further advancement, their views enlarging with their powers, and schemes at length entertained which go virtually to the supersession of the Company, the opening of trade, and ultimately the endangering of our Indian Empire. These consequences are, to be sure, not allowed on the other side; but those who deny them are chiefly persons who are arguing for their own interests, whilst those who fear them have no similar interest to influence their minds.

Grant was soon to be concerned with greater events than these. In May 1804 he was elected Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, and in the following year he succeeded to the Chair. These influential positions placed considerable power in his hands, for the correspondence connected with the political arrangements demanded by the exigencies of England's expanding Indian Empire were left to the initiation of "the Chairs," although every measure had to be submitted for the decision of the Court before its final adoption. This gave Grant an opportunity for exercising the naturally masterful character, which was described by Sir James Stephen and Sir J. W.

Kaye in the strong phrases which we have previously quoted, stating that he was not merely a Director but the Direction. We felt at first that such a phrase was exaggerated; but a perusal of the following letters will show that there was some foundation for the assertion.[1] Here and there, the involuntary substitution of a pronoun in the first person singular instead of the plural, indicates somewhat of his spirit of leadership; and so also does the decided tone of these letters, which were addressed to Governors-General, Governors, Members of Council, and other high officials in India.

The period during which Grant occupied the Chairs in 1804-6 covered the time when tidings were received in Leadenhall Street of the Mahratta War in Lord Wellesley's administration. It has been seen that the Court of Directors had been in sharp collision with that distinguished statesman on other occasions; but the antagonism between them now reached its climax, and it will be observed that no one could have expressed himself as more strongly opposed to the Governor-General's policy than the Chairman. The following correspondence cannot be properly understood without a brief historical account of the events to which it refers. When Lord Wellesley had achieved the conquest of the kingdom of Mysore, and had settled the relations between the British Government and the Nizam of Hyderabad, his attention was directed to the great Mahratta people, who at that time held in their grasp some of the fairest parts of India, most of which had been reduced to a state of desolation. The nominal

[1] James Mill, the Historian of British India, in accepting the office of Examiner of Indian Correspondence at the India House in 1819, wrote to Zachary Macaulay that he was ready to subordinate his own will and ideas to those of Grant. "I differ in many things from him; but the nature of the office implies that I consciously become an instrument in his hand."—*Life of Zachary Macaulay*, by Lady Knutsford, p. 347. Edward Arnold, 1900.

head of the Mahratta State was Baji Row, the Peshwa, whose capital was Poona. The possession of the person of this vacillating prince was being contested by two powerful chieftains named Jeswant Row Holkar and Dowlut Row Sindia. Another Mahratta prince was the Raja of Berar, whose capital was Nagpore, and who was then in alliance with Sindia. The main strength of the Mahratta arms lay in their method of warfare. They were mostly horsemen, who moved with marvellous celerity, and were held in dread by the other inhabitants of India in consequence of their mobility, and because they exacted from all whom they conquered an iniquitous tax called *chout*, being the fourth of the revenue of each devastated province. Of late years, the Mahratta chieftains had placed part of their forces under French commanders, and had partially adopted European modes of warfare.

Lord Wellesley's policy was to consolidate and extend British supremacy over the whole of India by means of defensive and subsidiary alliances with the various native Courts, and thus to render the Indian Government the supreme arbiter in every quarrel and dispute. This was directly contrary to the genius of the Mahratta people. The first prince to whom the Governor-General proffered alliance was Baji Row. It was at first declined. Just at this juncture, Sindia was endeavouring to bring the Peshwa under his ascendency, and Baji Row consequently dreaded him. Meanwhile, a contest had been proceeding between Holkar and Sindia, in which the former prevailed, and, on 25th October 1802, he appeared before Poona, where the united forces of Sindia and the Peshwa were assembled. Holkar was victorious in the conflict that ensued, and the Peshwa fled to Bassein on the west coast. He was then in the humour to accept Lord Wellesley's offer, and a treaty was entered into between the Peshwa and the Indian Government on the last day

of that year, in which a defensive alliance was agreed on. A British contingent was to be stationed in the Peshwa's territory, and certain districts in the Deccan assigned for its support.

The Company's paramount power in Western and Central India was ensured by this treaty. The struggle for the Empire of India between the Mahrattas and the British had begun. Though both Holkar and Sindia had invited the Governor-General to interfere in the Peshwa's affairs, the treaty of Bassein caused them great dissatisfaction. Sindia and the Raja of Berar entered into a confederacy to thwart Lord Wellesley's designs, though Holkar at present held aloof. The Governor-General had already made preparations against this confederacy. Forces under Colonel Stephenson were advancing from Hyderabad; from Mysore under General Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington; and from the North under General Lake. The Peshwa re-entered Poona supported by British troops and under British protection. Full powers were conferred on General Wellesley. Ere long Ahmednuggur was captured, other fortresses taken, and the power of Sindia and the Raja of Berar was completely broken by brilliant victories such as Assaye and Argaum, in which General Wellesley won his earliest laurels. In the North, Sindia's armies were defeated by General Lake at Delhi and Laswari. The titular Emperor of Delhi was placed under British protection, and Perron, the French commander of part of Sindia's troops, preferred surrender to conflict. In five months the Mahratta confederacy was broken, and the united forces of Sindia and the Raja of Berar completely routed.

Holkar was still at large, but he was more of a marauding freebooter than a reigning prince. He betook himself to the North, and entered into alliance with a similar spirit, Amir Khan, a Pathan chief. War

was declared against him in April 1804, and, after a calamitous commencement, owing to the retreat of a column under Colonel Monson, decisive victories were gained at Deeg and Fattighar. A great hindrance to the British arms was encountered by the ineffectual siege of Bhurtpore, which lasted from January to April 1805; and this reanimated the hopes of Sindia and the other Mahratta chieftains. Negotiations with them were going on, however, when Lord Wellesley's policy and plans were arrested by the return to India, as Governor-General, of Lord Cornwallis, who had been requested again to assume the Government of India, at the urgent solicitation of the Court of Directors, supported by the President of the Board of Control and the Ministry.

Lord Wellesley was a statesman born to conquer and to rule. Those whom he trusted believed in him fully, and no Indian Governor had ever attracted to his side an abler or a braver band of disciples and lieutenants. His views were Imperial. When he reached the shores of India he found there was peace in name; but the authority of England was contemned, the loyalty of the princes of India was chilled, and the allegiance of the friends of English rule alienated. He had a positive genius for empire, and there was here a fair field for its exercise. He saw that the English Government had over-stepped the boundary which divided the merchant from the ruler, and he felt that a retrograde step would not be worthy of England and of her sons in the East. Opportunities for the expansion of her power in India occurred, and he availed himself of them to the full.

On the other hand, the Court of Directors, as then constituted, had a profound desire for peace. Parliament had plainly forbidden increase of territory.[1] The Directors

[1] See *Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company*, by Peter Auber, p. vi., 60, where Act 24 George III., Cap. 25 is quoted.

honestly desired to do their utmost for the benefit of their constituents, the Proprietors of East India stock. They dreaded the expansion of their territory, and perhaps there was, to use a well-known poetical saying, a good deal in their hearts of "the craven fear of being great." Lord Wellesley, however, did not go the right way to work in order to conciliate the Court, for, whatever he might think or say, they constituted, in fact, the ruling authority. As such, he was bound to consult them, or, at the very least, to have informed them of his plans, his views, and his arrangements. But he did nothing of the kind. In Grant's correspondence, part of which we are about to quote, there occur continually such phrases as, "Not a line has been received from Bengal," even regarding the proclamation of war and the occurrence of severe battles. In fact, every plan seems to have been prepared in secret, and no hint of the policy which Lord Wellesley intended to adopt was given to the India House, notwithstanding the undoubted right of the Directors to receive accurate information regarding every event that concerned their own territories. They were, moreover, not alone in their feelings of dissatisfaction. The Ministry, especially Lord Castlereagh, a great friend and supporter of Lord Wellesley, who was then President of the Board of Control, entertained very similar views; and many of those who were connected with India had apprehensions with respect to the new policy of subsidizing and controlling the native Courts.

The verdict of history, however, is contrary to the apprehensions then entertained. Though Lord Wellesley may have been wrong in his relations with the Court of Directors, he was right in his principles of government; and the India of the present day is indebted to him for its stability and consolidation. If the policy of Lord Castlereagh and of the Directors had entirely prevailed, the area of British India would have been confined to that of the three Presidencies of Bengal,

Madras, and Bombay, as they existed at the close of the eighteenth century. Many of Grant's ideas, as expressed in his *Observations*, are decidedly far-seeing and sagacious, so there is room for surprise at his failure to grasp the idea of the supremacy of the British Government in India being really for the benefit of the people of that country; but we believe that, if he were able to see British India as it is now, he would be the first to acknowledge that his prophecies of evil augury were erroneous. We are sure, however, that his one thought was the benefit of India, and that his dread of the Empire of India being "overgrown," originated in his desire for peace and tranquillity as well as for order and good government in the land he loved. This interesting correspondence follows:—

Charles Grant to the Hon. Jonathan Duncan,
Governor of Bombay.

1st June 1804.

The scenes recently transacted in India have given a new composition to our Empire there; and if that appears to be permanent, it will probably be followed by many important changes in the legislative constitution of British India, both at home and abroad. The military successes have been surprisingly brilliant. The rapidity and extent of the conquests are astonishing. But, after all, I have great fears that they will prove only a splendid road to ruin. According to the latest accounts, we have in our dependence or alliance all Hindostan and the Deccan, an Empire more extensive than Aurungzeeb's. If this vast dominion had been the object of our national policy, or of the first Clive or of Lord Cornwallis, it might have been before acquired. But hitherto, independent of the question of justice, all such schemes of aggrandisement have been thought utterly contrary to our true interest. To acquire and retain the Government of a continent so extended and peopled as Hindostan, involves in it the idea not of established

tranquillity, but of perpetual warfare, not of increasing prosperity from the arts of peace, but of continual expenditure both of wealth and of human life. . . . I believe that Ministers are astounded at what has happened, at a loss what to determine, or willing to wait until they see a peace actually made with the Mahrattas and the terms of it. The removal of Mr Addington's Administration and the succession of the stronger one of Mr Pitt, with several of Lord Wellesley's original and powerful friends, will probably have a great influence in rendering a decision more favourable for him. You will see that the House of Commons has ordered the papers relative to the Mahratta war to be laid before it. . . . The thanks of Parliament have been voted to the military for their gallant conduct, and also to Lord Wellesley and the other Governments for the military part of their proceedings, which was all prefaced by declarations, excluding the consideration of the policy of the war. This was done from a consciousness of the questionable nature of the policy, the desire of waiving that discussion and yet of showing an immediate testimony of approbation to Lord Wellesley, which indeed has the appearance of at least implying that there is not likely to be any severe judgment passed, or harsh opinion entertained respecting the policy. . . . The Court of Directors, with a very few exceptions, most seriously disapprove and lament it, as both morally and prudentially wrong in its principle, and full of danger in its consequences. The treaty of Bassein was laboured in order to give us an ascendency in the Peshwa's Government; it set a British head over the members of the Mahratta Empire; it, therefore, violated essentially the constitution of that Empire, and the right of its separate members as well as of the treaty of Salbeye. It was the true cause of the war. It was a scheme of ambition and aggrandisement, contrary, therefore, to the law of 1784, and in its principle unjustifiable. The professed object was peace, but it immediately produced war, and we are come into that position that mere overawing force and power is the only instrument that maintains our footing in India. The formidable power of the Mahrattas and their French force, have been mentioned

as causes of alarm to us, their disciplined infantry and artillery proved their bane; had they adhered to their predatory war with horses it might have proved fatal to us, and as to the sovereignty of Perron, of which we have heard, it seems he preferred to it the condition and security of a private station under our protection. On the ground of guarding against distant presumed dangers, we have been led into real danger, into a war which but for repeated critical errors almost miraculously favourable, might have proved destructive to us; and the professed aim of securing the tranquillity of India establishes a belligerent spirit in our Government and in all those held forcibly in subjection to it, that is, it imposed upon us the necessity of maintaining by force an ascendency which can be maintained in no other way over tribes whose profession is war and principle independence.

PRIVATE.]

Charles Grant to George Udny, Member of the Governor-General's Council.

1st June 1804.

If to effect the treaty of Bassein was really necessary for us, if the war that followed it was also necessary, then it may be justified; but, if we have without necessity followed a line of policy at all likely to provoke war, especially if that policy were in itself unjust, then is the war unjust, and we are chargeable with all the guilt of it—the bloodshed, miseries, and devastation which it has occasioned. I desire to be thankful that I have not to reckon with myself for any part of these enormous evils. Near the warm sun of superior power, dazzled with many specious and plausible reasonings, delivered with great mastery of language, and combined with very sagacious political management, I might have too easily yielded, without enough reflecting on the awful responsibility to those who let loose the scourge of war upon the earth.

Arguments of policy or prudence have also been

urged for the war, such as the formidable power of Scindia, the growth of a French interest in the heart of Hindostan, and the danger of their co-operating with an invading European force. What consideration was due from these obligations may be estimated from the facts. Holkar, not the most powerful of the Mahratta chiefs, defeated the combined army of the Peshwa and Scindia. General Wellesley vanquished the confederate forces of Scindia and Berar, five times his number. General Lake obtained repeated victories with a like disparity of numbers. All the extensive and refined policy of Lord Wellesley with regard to foreign States seems to have gone very much upon guarding against distant apprehended evils, and in the pursuit of this object to have brought on other evils certain and immediate. . . . In reality, what was this policy, but getting an ascendency in every cabinet in Hindostan? How were we to cultivate the arts of peace, if perpetually engaged in the politics and disputes of all the Durbars of India? With what energy and success can a distant delegated Government like ours in the East, subject to perpetual changes of men and administered by foreigners to the country, hope to wield the sceptre of Hindostan, that sceptre which proved too ponderous for the ablest princes of Timour's race?

We rule over a greater Empire than Akbar held. But is this a change to exult in? Truly I think very much otherwise. The suddenness and greatness of the change, the brilliancy of our military exploits, the giddy height at which we find ourselves, and the temerity of the counsels which have brought us to this position, may excite astonishment; but, in many minds, not the weakest, it is astonishment mixed with terror. Have any circumstances arisen strong enough to overrun the long received maxims of a policy which have forbidden the extension of our dominion in the East—maxims which experience has so much justified that they have at length been enacted into laws? If the first Clive, if Lord Cornwallis, had aimed at this, they might have achieved it; but they had the spirit of sage legislators as well as of warriors—they were for cultivating a garden instead of turning the fruitful field into a scene of battle.

Charles Grant to George Udny.

RUSSELL SQUARE, 29*th January* 1805.

Lord Cornwallis's appointment to be Governor-General is a measure that expresses a volume. If the authorities had been easy as to affairs in India, he would not have been asked to return to that arduous field again. He will carry with him the same wise moderation for which he was distinguished before. . . . May it please God to make him the instrument of restoring order, tranquillity, and security to the convulsed continent of India.

Charles Grant to Lord Cornwallis.

EAST INDIA HOUSE, 16*th September* 1805.

. . . The state of affairs in India gives us a strong conviction of the arduous task which your Lordship will have to perform in restoring peace upon terms at once solid and not discreditable to us. The general result is indeed no other than might have been expected; but, after the variety of brilliant actions which were achieved, a speedier peace might have been looked for. . . . I cannot help mentioning the opinion which your attached friends among us, myself not the last in this description, entertain in relation to the state in which you find affairs, mainly that there should be a fair display of it transmitted, not for the purposes of party, above which you have been always raised, but for the information of those who have a right to know the real condition of their affairs, for your own justification, and for determining more distinctly the line of policy to be hereafter followed. . . . For my own part, after reviewing the whole of our actual situation, the system in which we have embarked of controlling, that is, in effect subduing and governing all India, the distractions and wars this has occasioned to the calling forth of all the concealed enmity which our past transactions have excited, the deplorable state of our finances, the ruinous extent of our establishments, the continual waste of Europeans, to which we are subject; I see that by this system we are putting our

existence in India to the hazard, I see more than ever the necessity of such a measure as your Lordship's return to the administration of affairs.

There is a peculiar pathos even in reading the letters from which the above extract has been taken, for we know that not one of them was received. Lord Cornwallis, in whom such implicit confidence was placed both by the Court of Directors and by the Board of Control, went out to India only to die. A few weeks after he had reached Calcutta, he left for the scene of action on the North-West frontier, and died at Ghazipur, on the right bank of the Ganges, during his upward passage, on 5th October 1805. The next letter from Grant shows how deeply he felt this event.

PRIVATE.]

Charles Grant to Sir George H. Barlow, Bart.

LONDON, 28*th February* 1806.

The intelligence of the death of Lord Cornwallis was a thunder-stroke to us, none of the overland despatches intended to prepare us for this disastrous event having arrived. It was the more affecting because our great Minister, Mr Pitt, had only a few days before breathed his last, whilst the consternation of the country from the most calamitous reverses on the Continent of Europe was yet recent, and the public funeral of Lord Nelson was but just closed. Lord Cornwallis was the only remaining public character that could have been associated with those two.[1] In magnanimous, amiable, and useful qualities in the public service, and in patriotism of spirit he has left no equal behind. The embarrassment which the intelligence occasioned at the India House was the greater, because a total change of administration followed the death of Mr Pitt, and the new Ministers, headed by Lord Grenville and Mr Fox, had not yet taken regular possession of their offices. The only

[1] The same comparison was made by Wilberforce. See *Life*, vol. iii. p. 250.

consolation we had, was to find that Lord Cornwallis had lived long enough to delineate and commence his system of pacification, and that you had, on assuming the Government, formally determined to carry on what he had begun. I am thoroughly satisfied that this was a happy determination for the public; and, I beg leave to add, happy for yourself as far as honours and success can be reckoned good.

We have before us Udny's letters announcing Lord Cornwallis's arrival and death, which conveyed the first tidings of these events that reached the India House. They are touching in their very simplicity. A few extracts from them are appended. On hearing of Lord Cornwallis's appointment George Udny wrote:—

"This appointment has given the greatest satisfaction to everybody. . . . Lord Wellesley appears to be satisfied. To Sir George Barlow no other person could be so acceptable as his friend and patron; and, as to myself, I rejoice in the event."

Three days after the Governor-General's arrival, Udny wrote again:—

"His Lordship landed here on the 30th ult., and immediately assumed the Government. He has determined to visit the army. He appears to be much broken in health since I last saw him in 1790. His mind is as vigorous as ever."

The next letter was a private one dated 15th October:—

"I have already addressed you, as Chairman of the Court, informing you of the ever to be lamented death of Lord Cornwallis, and the succession of Sir George Barlow, who has nominated me as Vice-President. I am sure you will particularly grieve for your friend Lord Cornwallis. I am happy to find that the public orders which I issued notifying his death have met with approbation as an appropriate tribute to his exalted character."

The news of these events reached England only a short time before Grant vacated the Chair, and was again compelled to leave the Direction for a year by rotation. The correspondence regarding the succeeding political and historical events in India did not, therefore, pass through his hands. A few words only need be added to complete the brief descriptive account already given. Udny described the policy which was to be adopted as following the lines of that laid down by Lord Cornwallis in his letter to Lord Lake of 19th September 1805, who was so much dissatisfied with it that he declined to carry it into effect, and resigned his political functions. Holkar was the only Mahratta chief with whom the British Government were still at war; but Sindia was in a very unsatisfactory condition of mind, retaining the British Resident at his Court as a virtual prisoner, and showing other signs of hostility. Both these princes were to be conciliated, and the Rajas and others on the other side of the Jumna, who had given the Government their assistance, were to be abandoned. Lord Cornwallis had stated that his endeavour would be to end by negotiation, if possible, but without a sacrifice of honour, a contest in which, as he remarked, the most brilliant successes could afford no solid benefit, and which would entail financial difficulties that could hardly be surmounted. Unhappily the method employed was a sacrifice of honour. Sir George Barlow stated his intention to follow this plan, because it was in accordance with the wishes of the Court, and, to use his own words, his policy would be "directed to the divesting ourselves of all right to the exercise of interference in the affairs of the native princes where we possessed it almost to an unlimited extent by treaty, and to the withdrawing from all concern whatever in the affairs of every State beyond the Jumna." Meanwhile, Lord Lake had done his best to chase the predatory chief Holkar, who had retreated to the banks of the

Sutlej. No satisfactory treaties were concluded with him and Sindia. The political advantages which had been gained by Lord Wellesley were almost entirely abandoned; and it remained for another, and an almost equally imperial, hand to take up, after the lapse of some dozen years, the skeins of the policy which had then been dropped. No one can read the above correspondence without seeing that Grant and his colleagues acted throughout these matters with the most sincere desire for the welfare and peace of India, and from the purest motives; but they did not see with sufficient clearness that an inglorious peace entails much misery on a country in the long run, and is frequently followed by worse calamities than war.

With regard to the appointment of a Governor-General in succession to Lord Cornwallis, there was a sharp collision between the Court of Directors and the new Ministry, which came into power in January 1806 on the death of Mr Pitt. Lord Minto was the President of the Board of Control in this Ministry. The Court was anxious to appoint Sir George Barlow permanently to the high office of Governor-General: the Ministry desired to appoint Lord Lauderdale, a nobleman of no high character or repute. The Court objected very strongly to their nominee, and, as this controversy occurred during the last few months of Grant's chairmanship, it was principally conducted by him. The Ministry even went to the length of exercising for the first time the power granted to them by the Act of 1784 of vacating an appointment in India without the Court's consent. Lord Minto seems to have conducted this dispute in a most tactful manner, and eventually he was himself selected for this responsible post to the satisfaction of both parties to the discussion. Soon afterwards, Grant availed himself of the leisure afforded him by being out of the Direction to write a very long letter to Sir George Barlow, giving an account of this

affair, in which he was so much concerned, and an abridgement of it is given, because it throws a good deal of light on the inner working of the India House at that period.

Charles Grant to Sir George Barlow, Bart.

LONDON, 26*th July* 1806.

Before this can reach you, you will know the result of these disputes; that the Administration, not being able to prevail on the Court to revoke your appointment in order to place Lord Lauderdale in your room, had advised His Majesty to perform the strong act of revoking your appointment himself; and, in the way of doing it, to cancel the commission of every member of the Council also; and that the Court, still refusing to appoint Lord Lauderdale, His Majesty's Ministers recommended Lord Minto, who, being acceptable to the Court, has been nominated by them Governor-General. Officially engaged in the commencement of these transactions, and not ceasing, when I quitted the Chair, to feel zealously and anxiously for the great interests they involved, it is but natural I should continue my correspondence with you, to give some account of the conduct and opinion I held concerning them. I should have done this, had you been confirmed in the Government. I may do it with less suspicion now, and it is fit, in any case, that the truth should be known. This proposition was first opened to me by Lord Minto on the 7th March with the appearance of the most determined purpose on the part of His Majesty's Government. Deeply affected by it, I opposed it both in conversation and writing. . . . I did not found my opposition to an immediate change upon any personal consideration respecting the successor who might be given to you; because his name was quite unknown to me, when this controversy was begun, and, indeed, until it was brought nearly to a close. I resisted the principle of any immediate change upon general considerations. . . . After the Directors had stated all our objections to an immediate change, the name of Lord Lauderdale was mentioned to us. . . . Almost

on the same day, it was blazed all over the town. The new Ministers had determined on his appointment in the Cabinet; and, without thinking it necessary previously to consult the disposition of the Court of Directors, let their determination be known. It happened that no name could be more unpopular with the Court or with the public, and the motives which would induce Ministers to supersede a tried servant in the moment of his being engaged in arduous and beneficial labours by a character of this description, were very freely scanned. . . . When the accounts came of your having solidly accomplished the object of pacification, the obstacles were found to be still more insuperable. The Ministers then felt themselves extremely perplexed. They were pledged to Lord Lauderdale, who, it is said, would not recede. They thought their credit committed in the eyes of the public, and the question whether the influence of the Administration should predominate in the appointment of the Governor-General appeared to them to be at issue, so that, on all accounts, they deemed themselves bound to persevere. They had recourse, therefore, to an assiduous private canvass among the members of the Direction. A public letter was at length addressed to the Court, revoking your appointment and recommending Lord Lauderdale. Reluctant as the Court were to censure you, yet, considering how much the fate of the Company might be involved in a conflict with a strong Administration originally hostile to them, it is but fair to state my opinion that they would not probably have deemed it prudent, after the declaration made by the Administration, to insist that, at all events, you should be permanently continued in the Government. But they justly thought it a perfectly inadmissible proposition to remove you then, especially in favour of a successor totally unacquainted with India and its affairs, and unpossessed of their confidence. . . . On the subject being put to the vote, eighteen to four voted against rescinding your appointment. The Court had still hope that the Government, seeing so signal a proof of their real disposition, would proceed no further. . . . This refusal of the Court to remove you was in appearance a simple, unconditional resistance to the will of the Government. The Ministers seem

to have chosen to consider it in that light. . . . Their authority and credit were committed, and they determined to persevere, seeing probably that it could hardly be worse with them than it was. . . . The King's mandate of revocation was, therefore, notified to the Court. . . . The Court continued, however, strenuously to refuse Lord Lauderdale, and hoped that, they being seen to remain firm on this point, the Administration would take back the mandate. There was an expectation on both sides that the other would yield the favourite point, but neither succeeded. . . . The Administration at length decided on their line, which was to adhere to the act of revocation; but to give up the recommendation of Lord Lauderdale and to propose a man who, they had reason to believe, would be agreeable to the Court and the public, namely, Lord Minto, whose character, by the way, with the Directors was, perhaps, very much settled by the reports my colleague and I made of him whilst we were in the Chairs.

Grant then added his opinion of the character of the Governor-General elect, and it is interesting to learn the estimate he had formed of one with whom he had been in close contact for many months, and who was soon to exercise such high authority in India.

"Lord Minto," he wrote, "is considered an honourable man, has the reputation of ability, information, and a cultivated mind in politics and particularly Indian politics. He was of the school of Burke, and thought to be somewhat theoretical, and was a respectable member of the old Opposition. Constitutionally I take him to be a man of sensibility, and in general of mildness and kindness, but liable to be raised to harsher feelings. In the office of the Board of Control I found him most conciliating, easy, affable, frank, with laudable application, and just views of many Indian questions, a man of business, acute too, particularly in writing down conversation. From what I have experienced of his Lordship, I should be inclined to apprehend that his facility and impressibleness of temper may lead him into entanglements from which he may not have the happiest method of extricating himself."

It has been seen that the Court of Directors were as much opposed to Lord Wellesley's measures on financial grounds as well as for political reasons. There was, no doubt, a very great strain at that time on the finances of India, and it was very natural for the Court, remembering their responsibility to the great body of their constituents, to feel the full weight of the financial situation; for they had not yet realised the fact that the East India Company had become a great power in the world, and could no longer remain a mere body of merchants trading with the East. They were just beginning to grasp the reality of this amazing fact; but even Grant himself was not gifted sufficiently with insight into the future to release his mind from the present burden of the current deficit in the revenues of India. No one felt it more keenly than he. He desired to see a financial equilibrium as earnestly as he was anxious to restore to the people of India the inestimable blessing of peace. On his return to the Direction in 1807, he was again chosen to occupy the position of Deputy Chairman, from which, after serving in it for two years with Edward Parry as Chairman, he was again promoted to the Chair. It thus fell to his lot to correspond on financial questions with the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and to impress upon them the vital need of retrenchment. The following are the forcible letters he wrote to them on this pressing subject. In one of these he uses a phrase which occurred in the official despatch from the Court to Sir George Barlow, who had been recently appointed Governor of Madras in circumstances which will hereafter be related. The use of this phrase, "If the retrenchments do not appear sufficient, we must apply the pruning knife here," which has been quoted in historical narratives relating to this period, would seem to indicate that the official despatch, as well as the private letter, was drafted by him.

Charles Grant to Sir George Barlow, Bart.

INDIA HOUSE, *4th September* 1807.

The commercial prospects here, instead of brightening, grow more gloomy. The political enemies of the Company, who are such either from party resentments, or the desire of a share in the vast patronage of India, and the commercial enemies, who want to throw the trade open, take advantage of these circumstances to inveigh against the whole of the present Indian system. . . . Retrenchments, large retrenchments, and a large surplus after providing for the interest of the debt, are absolutely necessary. No doubt it is an arduous task to produce these. Many obstacles must be encountered, many privations imposed; but the answer to a thousand objections is one irresistible argument. Either there must be a large available surplus, or the Company cannot go on. We are looking very anxiously to the details of your retrenchments, of which we have received hardly any part. If they do not appear sufficient, we must apply the pruning knife here. It is exceedingly material that an account of your retrenchments, and the evidence of a clear and good surplus, should arrive within the time our affairs come under the consideration of Parliament. If you should not have transmitted us your ultimatum on these points before the present advices reach you, or that ultimatum should not be adequate to the existing occasion, it will be necessary that, with the utmost possible expedition, you supply what is requisite.

There was no more regular and diligent attendant to business at the India House than Charles Grant. He seems, for instance, by reference to the records, to have been present at every meeting of the Court during the last year of the eighteenth century; and, notwithstanding his painstaking attendance to the more formal business, his pen was ever ready to communicate with those in authority in India. His letters were too long to suit the tastes of the present day; but it must be

remembered that this custom was acquired in a country where, in official work, the pen was always more in use than the tongue, and where correspondence with Europe was a serious undertaking, and it was not considered worth while to write a short letter. These letters were always copied three or four times, so that they might be sent by separate vessels in case of ships being lost by fire, storm, or other calamity.

In 1802, the year in which Grant entered Parliament, he changed his place of residence, and, leaving Battersea Rise, he took No. 40, Russell Square, where he passed the remainder of his life.[1] This change was probably made in order that he might be in a better position for conducting his two-fold duties at Westminster and in Leadenhall Street. The house was conveniently situated between these two points of interest in the East and West of the great city. The home in Russell Square must have been particularly happy and cheerful. Wilberforce records in his Diary that he had on one occasion retreated to Grant's house as a quiet place, where he could collect his thoughts, and prepare himself for some great effort in the House of Commons. Wilberforce felt Grant's removal from Clapham a good deal, and the distance of his new abode, which prevented him from consulting him so frequently as he used to do when they were nearer neighbours. Writing to him on 18th March 1805, Wilberforce said:—

> "I always feared that your fixing so far off as Russell Square would sadly interrupt our intercourse; but all my anticipations fell short of the actual effect, and I assure you that it is a standing grievance with me, or I may rather say, us, that our families see so little of each other."

[1] This house is the same as it was in Grant's day, the number not having been altered. It is on the west side of the Square, and is much smaller than the house on Clapham Common.

A delightful peep at the family circle is given by a relative, Mrs Grant, of Laggan, who is well known for her piquant book, *Letters from the Mountains*.

"We proceeded," she said, when, most probably in 1807, she was describing a visit to London, "to Russell Square, and found the family by themselves, and a charming family they are. The eldest youth, Charles, possesses distinguished abilities, and the second, Robert, is also promising. There is one girl, called Charemile, who is very like her aunt, my deceased friend (Mrs Sprott), and, like her, is witty, lively, and extremely entertaining; the rest seem sensible, affectionate, and natural. Mr Grant had been ill, so that they could not see company, but he came down, and took his chicken-broth and lemonade beside us, and, on the whole, we benefited by his illness. He seemed greatly to enjoy talking over old stories with me, and we had the pleasure of seeing the delightful assemblage of this amiable family round their excellent parents, and of receiving from them kindness, marked, tender, and tranquil, such as could not be interchanged in a crowd. They had just begun to entertain us with music, in which they all excel, when my hostess sent to say she was with her carriage at the door."

"I wish," she wrote a little later, "you knew Mr Grant's family, whom the world brands as Methodists—a good convenient appellation for every one who does not swim with its current. I speak of the younger branches of that pious and amiable family, in whom one sees a soft reflection of their parents, heightened by the graces of youth, the polish of education, and the embellishments that a peculiar relish for literature, for music, and for all that is pleasing and elegant in science, adds to a degree of native genius."[1]

Mrs Grant generally went in the summer or autumn, with her daughters, to some watering-place, such as Bath, Cheltenham, the Isle of Wight, or Malvern, for change of air and relaxation; but her husband was too busily engaged either with his duties as a Director

[1] *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs Grant*, vol. i. pp. 159, 271. London, Longmans, 1844.

or with his Parliamentary engagements always to accompany her. His cousin James, writing once to Mrs Grant when she was in the country, jocularly called him "that solitary fagg at the India House." Several letters which were exchanged between them on these occasions have been preserved. These mostly refer to the ordinary occupations of daily life, and few treat of important matters that demand attention. After Grant entered Parliament, he considered it his duty to visit the North of Scotland more frequently than he had hitherto done; and, when he had purchased an estate in Skye, he was obliged to go there sometimes to look after the interests of his tenants.

During this period of unremitting labour, Grant longed for scenes of less exertion, for quiet and repose; but it seemed to him that the path of duty lay for him in the way of toil and exertion. The strain, however, was great, and he felt that the continual worries, or, as he called them, the "hurries," of never-ceasing labour, were prejudicial to his spiritual welfare.

"I know not," he wrote to George Udny on 31st July 1806, "how you have found your mind in respect to eternal things amidst the pressure of public business, and the connections which public business leads into; but I have experienced sad effects from these causes, and have keenly felt the vanity and vexation which attend any measure of distinction and influence. It is difficult to have much to do with the world without being the worse for it."

It has been stated how great a share Grant took in preparing the way for the establishment of the Church Missionary Society; and it has been shown that, if any one man can be called the founder of that Society, he was entitled to that honour. The seed of another great Society was sown at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which, beginning in a comparatively humble manner, has, in the space of a

century, become a magnificent tree with its branches spreading over the whole earth, and it may truthfully be said that, "the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations" (Rev. xxii. 2). The British and Foreign Bible Society appears to have been commenced just at the right moment, when the revived missionary zeal of the universal Church of Christ needed its assistance in spreading the knowledge of the Gospel in the manifold languages of the world. The seed was sown at a meeting of the Religious Tract Society's Committee, on 7th December 1802, in Mr Hardcastle's Office at Old Swan Stairs. The idea was started after a speech by the Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala, who had been pleading for the foundation of a Society to supply the Principality of Wales with cheap and handy Bibles. When he had ended, Mr Hughes, the Secretary of the Tract Society, exclaimed: "Surely a Society might be formed for the purpose; and if for Wales, why not also for the Empire and the world?" Acting on this hint, the gentlemen there assembled set heartily to work for this object. They were good, pious, but comparatively unknown, men; and when they had proceeded, with wonderful perseverance, to elaborate their design, they looked about for those who were better known in religious society to bring it into more prominent notice. Those thus selected were William Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, and Charles Grant. It was proposed, on 8th February 1803, that Mr Hughes and Mr Hardcastle should seek an interview with Wilberforce to consult him about making an application to the King to patronise the projected Society. It does not appear whether this interview ever took place; but, on 5th April, there was a breakfast at Wilberforce's. "Hughes, Reyner, and Grant breakfasted with me on Bible Society formation," was the entry in his Diary.[1] Grant cordially

[1] *Life of William Wilberforce*, vol. iii. p. 91.

approved of the new Society. When it was founded at the London Tavern on 7th March 1804, his name appeared as a member of the Committee, together with the names of his friends, Wilberforce, Babington, Macaulay, and Granville Sharp. Lord Teignmouth was the first President, and Henry Thornton was the first Treasurer. Grant was too much occupied in other work to permit of his attending the meetings of the Committee of this Society except on special occasions; but he was much interested in its operations, and was, later on, elected one of its Vice-Presidents.

In the year 1804, he was deeply affected by hearing of the death of his faithful and attached steward, John Obeck. He had given him a pension, and Obeck, since Mr and Mrs Grant's departure from Calcutta, had passed the evening of his days in a quiet round of usefulness and devotion. His heart was cheered by seeing an increase of godliness around him, which appeared to him perfectly marvellous after the coldness and deadness in spiritual matters that he had formerly witnessed. "How would Mr Grant rejoice," he sometimes said, "to see these things." "The departure of the aged Obeck," wrote Claudius Buchanan, "appears to be at hand. At least he thinks so, and bids me impart to you his blessing while his understanding remains." Buchanan also described the calm exultation with which the "Old Pilgrim" met his end:—"He had no spiritual conflict at his last hour; but manifested constantly peace, joy, and high assurance. He left to you and your family his blessing."[1] He died on 24th September 1803. Grant's reply to Buchanan was:—"The excellent Obeck's end I expected; but the account of it, having at length come, has raised all my feelings of affection for his character and friendship."

[1] *Life of Claudius Buchanan*, by Dean Pearson, vol. i. pp. 231, 269.

CHAPTER XIV

PARLIAMENTARY CAREER

A.D. 1802 TO 1818

Desire of Redcastle and Moy that Grant should come forward as a candidate for Inverness-shire—Present situation of affairs—Qualification—At first declines—Canvass begun in his name—Reluctantly agrees to stand—Dissolution in June 1802—Grant elected Member for the County—Two letters from Wilberforce—County Meeting—Unpopularity of the Malt Tax in Scotland—Internal Communications in the Highlands—Bill passed—Report from Telford—Select Committee of the House—Money to be found partly by Government and partly from local sources—Freedom of action on the Slavery question—General position of Grant in Parliament—Re-elected in 1806—Re-elected in his absence in April 1807—Resigns his seat in 1818—Summary of his Parliamentary career on his retirement—His son Charles elected Member for the County in his stead—Vote of thanks—Opposition of a local paper—Violent attack on Grant regarding his patronage.

THE history of Charles Grant's entrance into political life can be traced in his correspondence. A seat in Parliament, he himself frequently declared, never entered into his "scheme of life," and he was chiefly concerned with Indian affairs at the close of the eighteenth century. However, his kinsmen—more particularly his cousins, James Grant, of Redcastle, and Colonel Hugh Grant, of Moy—were eager to force his hand. Moy was very ambitious to "restore the fortunes of a fallen house" by bringing the Grants once more into a position of importance in their native county. The circumstances were favourable at this

moment. The Frasers had enjoyed a monopoly of the representation of Inverness-shire since 1763, when General Fraser came in at a by-election; then Fraser of Lovat, a nephew of the General, had held the seat, but had rendered himself "extremely unacceptable." There can be no doubt that Lovat was very unpopular. He was charged with neglecting the interests of the county; so much so, indeed, that his own clan was said to be in consequence quite disunited, "even irreconcilably'; the other clans were willing enough to break down the monopoly. The MacDonalds evidently would like a change, and so it was a good opportunity to bring forward a third name. If the Frasers were divided and opposed by the MacDonalds, here was the opportunity for the Grants to make the third party, for their interest in the county was "considerable," and India had enabled several of them to show that the house, even if fallen, could re-establish itself.

Grant was first approached in the summer of 1800, but he regarded his possible candidature as merely "a floating speculation." He continued to devote himself to purely Indian business; but in November he heard that his name had actually been put forward. In the ordinary course of affairs a dissolution might be expected in 1802, and therefore Redcastle and Moy were, it is clear, determined to force him thus early to declare himself. In December the former paid a visit to Battersea Rise. The argument was that the freeholders wanted in Lovat's place a man of business, who would attend to county matters. Government was ready to help towards opening out the Highlands by means of roads and bridges, and especially of a canal; the celebrated engineer, Telford, had been ordered to make a survey and then to report; local interests demanded that the member for Inverness-shire should have some power in influencing Government to take

active steps after the report was received. These words, indeed, were not actually used; but we can read between the lines, and understand what Redcastle meant when he pressed his cousin to stand as a man of "business habits." Moy's ambition to raise the fallen family, the hope that a candidate such as Charles Grant "would do real good to all Macs and Grants," had for the time being to be kept in the background; a man of his character could not be persuaded to come out simply to enable his relatives and constituents to get good berths, and so he was pressed on more plausible grounds.

Though taken by surprise, he declared that he appreciated the arguments used, for the Freeholders had a clear right to choose their man in spite of the influence of the predominant clan. But he had neither property nor residence in Inverness-shire; he had merely a voting qualification, and that quite a recent one, for Redcastle had just bought for him certain feudal "superiorities" belonging to Lord Cawdor which had come into the public market. On this point he was sensitive. Both the spirit and the letter of the law were in his favour, and he could with clear conscience stand on such a qualification; but Highlanders of old family would resent a new man being thrust upon them with so slight a connection with the county. "I am, besides, only an appendage of one of the minor families of the County." Later on he expressed himself very strongly:—"I respect hereditary distinctions more, perhaps, than it is the fashion of the age to do, and have ever wished to keep at a distance from even the appearance of the insolence of new success." Secondly, he could not undertake to stand in opposition to any candidate supported by Dundas. He spoke to the latter, who did not dislike the idea of his candidature, and said he was not under any "positive engagement" to any one else. Lovat seems to

have written a letter to Dundas claiming the Minister's promise of support. Partly because of the doubt upon this point, partly and more particularly, because he was sensitively afraid that his kinsmen's eagerness to put him forward would be imputed against him as his own selfish wish, he refused to stand. Two long letters in January 1801, one to Sir James Grant,[1] the other to Dundas, give all his objections. One point may be specially mentioned. He hated to think that he should be suspected of using his patronage as a Director towards a political intrigue. Lovat had accused him to Dundas of bribing Fraser of Relig to support him by giving a Writership to his second son. He, therefore, took pains to explain to the Minister that his wife was cousin-german to Relig's wife, that it was an old promise that the boy should receive a Writership, when his own family had been already provided for, and that the presentation had been made before this question of candidature occurred; he added that Dundas knew well that he had always hated such "traffic." One may assume that the thought that he would be accused of buying a seat by patronage contributed to make him decline to stand. He finally suggested that Redcastle should stand himself.

However, the pressure was too great. During 1801, as we have seen, he was seriously ill; and, when he recovered, he found that he had been compromised. The same two relations had, in the interval, been canvassing in his name. Moy wrote in September 1801, just as he was convalescent, and put the matter very strongly; he owed it to his name, to his forefathers, and to his successors, to accept nomination; the canvass had been very successful. If Grant were still to refuse after his friends had done so much, they simply could not go through another canvass for another candidate, "it would be a cruel circumstance,"

[1] *Chiefs of Grant*, by W. Fraser, vol. ii. p. 512. Edinburgh, 1888.

and then Lovat would win. "Lay the blame upon your friends," was Moy's concluding appeal; "we have the ball at our foot." So he gave way. The general tenor of his letters gives the impression that what weighed most with him, as he reconsidered the question, was the thought that he could be useful in the matter of improvements in the Highlands.[1] As to laying the blame on Moy and Redcastle, he took them at their word, and in almost every letter which he wrote to voters or influential men he said that his standing was not his own act but theirs.

Moy, it will be seen, was very sanguine; indeed, writing thus nearly a year before the election, he calculated that Grant was certain of eighteen votes, "and I might include seven more who are irreconcilable enemies of Lovat's," while Lovat could only count on five or six. Canvassers are proverbially optimistic, and on this occasion Moy was as much mistaken as many a modern wire-puller. Parliament was dissolved on 29th June 1802. Grant reached Edinburgh late in June, and early in July was at Forres, ready for action. His letters now show that there was considerable opposition against him, especially on the part of the influential chieftains, who were yet opposed also to Lovat — MacDonald of Glengarry, MacIntosh of MacIntosh, Chisholm of Chisholm, and Forbes of Culloden; a "Secret Chieftain League," one of Grant's friends called them. To them he was an "interloper," a word all the more distasteful to him, as it was used in past days to describe the private traders who infringed the chartered rights of the East India Company. Therefore, he wrote to them, particularly dwelling on his qualification to stand, for, if the law allowed the purchase of a feudal superiority to carry with it a vote

[1] His letter of 12th October 1801, to Sir James Grant, consenting to stand, is given in full in *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii. p. 520. Sir James was Lord-Lieutenant of the county.

and to constitute a qualification, he could not understand why his candidature should be challenged. "Nor have I been influenced by a design of making the interests of a name the ground of a contention," and far from dictating to the chieftains, and hurting the independence of the county, he contended that he was doing good "by enlarging the number of candidates." "It is obviously, and indeed avowedly, and I may say entirely, a Clan interest on which Lovat stands. . . . I have been brought forward by those who wished to break through the monopoly, not to say despotism." Moreover, if it was right to break the Fraser monopoly, and if the law of the land allowed it, a new man was justified in standing against the similar restriction which heads of other families wished to impose. "If the practice that has prevailed ever since the Union is to continue, it tends to render the representation hereditary in a very few families." The monopoly of a few was as bad as that of one, and behind the interests of a few clans of one Highland county, there was "the interest of the whole Kingdom." In all these letters the tone of Grant's arguments is admirable, though his style is verbose. Against his being a new man he puts clearly the wrong of all monopolies, his habits of business, and his ability to devote all his time to the good of the county and also of the whole country.

As July passed away, Grant effected the purchase of the estate of Waternish in Skye for £16,000, thus removing the stigma of having no land in Inverness-shire. But the opposition of the chieftains now came to a head. Baffled so far, they still nominated one of their own number, Forbes of Culloden, barely three weeks before the polling day. Glengarry sent out a circular letter on Culloden's behalf, which was professedly "upon the authority of all who are associated," *i.e.* of the "Secret Chieftain League." Grant argued

that Culloden had very little chance, and that the associated gentlemen would be throwing away their votes; the real issue was between himself and Lovat. On the actual day of election there was probably but little excitement, for every man voted as he had promised, or as had been anticipated. The figures were:—

Grant 15 | Lovat 11 | Culloden 6

Lovat immediately threatened a petition on the ground that several of Grant's voters were not properly qualified, and openly boasted that he could secure the rejection of nine. He took all the preliminary steps at law, and Grant had to consult his lawyers in defence; but whether the petition failed, or whether it was dropped, in any case Grant kept the seat.

In contrast with Lovat's animosity, which it is clear that Grant felt very sensitively, we may compare the courtesy of his other opponents. Culloden wrote him a kind letter of congratulation, declaring that he had neither originated nor sanctioned some attacks made during the last few days before the poll; Grant returned a courteous answer, and promised to accept Mrs Forbes's hospitality. He also was the guest for some short time of The MacIntosh, and wrote a courteous letter to Mrs MacIntosh before he quitted the Highlands.

His letters to his wife, who had remained behind at Clapham, express his sense of anxiety in his new position. The journey northwards and the election expenses will come to £600. He will have to entertain in London his supporters and his fellow-members, and yet will need to economise. He received the two following letters from Wilberforce:—

William Wilberforce to Charles Grant.

BRADFORD, 8*th July* 1802.

I trust you will do me the justice to believe that I do not speak the language of compliment (indeed

between *us* it is, and must ever be, out of the question), when I say that, amid all my own bustle, I have been often thinking of you and your goings on, and I am anxious to hear the result of your proceedings. Whatever it pleases God to ordain will, I verily believe, be best for you ultimately; but, except that I feel a secret misgiving whether your health will stand the life of a Member of Parliament, I should be extremely glad indeed to have you amongst us. Write to me in London. Mention your health also, on which head I am not less solicitous. I wish I could give you some of my *sang froid*, and, perhaps, it would be better if I had some of your anxiety.—Ever your affectionate and faithful friend, W. WILBERFORCE.

After Grant's election Wilberforce wrote to congratulate him, and made a pointed remark on the manner of his election, concluding with a strong animadversion on the mode of election then customary in England.

William Wilberforce to Charles Grant.

BROOMFIELD, 16*th August* 1802.

Your election seems to have been more like that of a Pope than that of a Member of Parliament, and your County Court to resemble a conclave of Cardinals. Yet I cannot help fearing that the bad effects which follow from the want of any share of political power in the great body of the people, must be the result of your Scottish system; yet anything is better than our present state in populous towns, where too often it is a mere contest of the purse, and all the money is spent on the promotion of all sorts of individual wickedness, domestic misery, and political mischief.

Parliament having met on 16th November, Grant at once plunged *in medias res*. Very sensibly, being mindful of Lovat's loss of popularity through neglect of county business, he kept himself constantly in touch with his constituents. This he did through the medium

of a "County Meeting," to which at intervals the whole body of Freeholders, Heritors, Justices of the Peace, *i.e.* his constituents generally, was summoned; an excellent method of keeping touch, which in these days of monster electorates is impossible, but which, before the Reform of 1832, gave a member an ideal opportunity of making himself useful. Sometimes he corresponded with the *Præses*, or the Convener, of the County Meeting, sometimes with the Convener of a Committee appointed *ad hoc*. The men of Inverness-shire soon learned that they had obtained the services of a good man, not a time-server, but one who would point out if their wishes were unreasonable, moreover a practical man who would sacrifice something rather than lose all by demanding too much, and a *persona grata* at head-quarters. Probably, as a well-known friend of Dundas, he was sure of an attentive hearing from Mr Addington, who, holding the reins of power since Pitt's resignation, was not too certain of his own power to refuse to conciliate a man as independent as he was. Also he worked in harmony with his colleagues, the members for Ross-shire and Cromarty, evidently seeing that, to benefit one county of the Highlands, it was necessary to show to the Government that there was union among all Highlanders.

Grant's first letter to his constituents is dated 6th December 1802. He alluded in it to the Malt Tax, which had been very unpopular in the early days of the Union, being then said to be an infraction of the Articles of Union; it had been quite recently re-imposed (42 Geo. III.), and was as unpopular as ever. Grant showed considerable common-sense on this matter. He advised a joint petition from Inverness-shire and neighbouring counties; but two things were to be avoided. The petition ought not to argue against the tax as an infraction of the Union, for the Crown lawyers had decided otherwise,

and it would be "a matter of prudential consideration" to refrain from such an argument; secondly, the Highlanders ought not to associate themselves with the rest of Scotland, for the barley of the Lowlands, being as good as that of England, could bear the tax as easily, and therefore this should be a Highland question only. In the March of 1803 he returns to the Malt Tax. The petition had been received, a meeting had been held of Scottish Members of both Houses, and a committee had been formed, himself sitting on it. It was decided to formulate certain questions about the barley so as to have definite answers and information, and then to lay the case before the Ministry. But he warned his friends that the opinion of English landed proprietors was strongly opposed to any remission of duty in Scotland.

On 9th April 1803 Grant wrote that he and General Mackenzie, M.P. for Cromarty, speaking also in the name of the absent M.P. for Ross-shire, waited on Mr Addington concerning Highland questions, more especially concerning emigration, and "for checking the alarming progress of that evil." Government, they were told, really intended to do something in the way of opening internal communication in the Highlands by land and water, and would soon furnish papers. On the 22nd he wrote that Telford's report had been printed and circulated to members, and he enclosed a copy to his constituents. The House had referred the report to a Select Committee, including himself, Mackenzie, and the Member for Sutherland. On the 26th of May he said that he required the views of the land-owners of Inverness-shire as to the proportion of the expense which they were willing to bear; Telford had suggested that the counties interested should bear half, and the Exchequer half, a proportion which he himself considered reasonable. It would also be necessary for them to let

the Ministry know exactly how the half could be raised. The County Meeting was immediately convened, and gave a unanimous vote to raise the half. A Bill was accordingly brought before Parliament for the construction of roads in the Highlands.

"The Commissioners," he wrote, "chiefly English gentlemen, with the Speaker at their head, all zealous for the improvement of the Highlands, are now waiting with open eyes and fixed attention to see how the proceedings of the land-holders correspond with the liberal aid and encouragement which Parliament has given. You will judge of the anxiety I feel, in sitting among those gentlemen, for my friends and constituents. I am convinced that, if there is not a suitable liberality and promptitude shown in the County, the supplies from Government next year may be far less than they otherwise would be. In short 'the tide in the affairs of men,' of which the Poet speaks, is now flowing in upon our long-neglected quarter. It ought to be seized, for there may never be such another."

Grant's letters in July show that a hitch now occurred. The County, in accepting the principle that it should bear half the expenses, desired a clause to be inserted in the Bill conferring full powers to assess all the land-owners according to their valued rentals; evidently there was a jealous fear that otherwise some proprietors would avoid their shares. But the Bill passed quickly through the Commons, and became law before Grant could propose such a clause. He now wrote to his constituents in a mood of some anxiety. "Do not," he said in effect, "risk losing all benefits from the Act simply because you have not got your compulsory clause; raise the money as you please; the Boroughs will pay voluntarily, because the new roads will lead to them; land-owners and tenants with long leases will benefit ultimately; and as to the short leases, the improvements will enable

the owners to raise the rents when they have run out. This year," he continued, "not much can be expected, and next session perhaps a short private Bill can be brought in to sanction compulsion. Meanwhile, the county half must be raised by voluntary subscription, so that the Government's half may be claimed. The Commissioners under the Act — Grant himself was one—intend to ask those landowners who are interested in special roads under Telford's scheme to pay voluntarily; then they will begin to take in hand at once those very roads, for the Government grant is limited."

So far Grant wrote in obviously good spirits. But he did not foresee a new worry which threatened to shipwreck all schemes of improvement. It was easy to ask for voluntary subscriptions; but the inevitable result was that the jealousy between one set of landowners and another set was aggravated. A did not like to see B's road begun before his own, and moreover did not see why C should pay nothing. Let us put the names of Highland chiefs in place of the letters, and the feelings will be easily imagined. Throughout the Parliamentary recess Grant had to hide his mortification, while no road-making was taken in hand. He had to exercise patience, waiting often some weeks for answers to his urgent letters, and it is difficult in our days of telegraphs and quick trains to appreciate the strain caused by waiting. But at last he brought things into order by his gift of patience and persuasion, by his practical sense, and by appeals to public spirit and disinterestedness, and the Inverness Assessment Bill became law. Such qualities amply justified the county's choice of him as its Member, and explain why he held the seat so long unchallenged.

The County Meeting had now fairly realised that united action was absolutely necessary, and that the

jealousies as to the priority of one road or bridge over another must be removed. Having got the new Act, it at once voted that all the roads projected under Telford's scheme be taken in hand at the same time, the Commissioners being agreeable thereto. A tone of satisfaction, subdued indeed, but very apparent, now runs through Grant's correspondence. A year had been wasted; but as a counterbalance, a spirit of public disinterestedness had taken the place of the selfish rush to secure the public grants for private ends. The voluminous correspondence at our disposal, which hitherto has been full of the roads and the disputes caused thereby, is henceforward so entirely silent on the same question that we can only imagine that the work was proceeding without a hitch. The Caledonian Canal was also being pushed forward.

Now came up a question which had been previously crowded out by the pressure of the business of war, a question on which he must take a strong line before the eyes of his constituents. Would they, in view of his services regarding Highland improvements, allow him liberty of action as an avowed Abolitionist? Some of them were interested in the Slave Trade, and apparently they claimed that they had a right to dominate his vote on this question. So he wrote a long letter to Fraser of Relig to explain his views. On the principle of Abolition, he argued, public opinion was becoming more clear.

"It is true that whenever any practice, however erroneous, comes to be deeply rooted, and to involve the interests of numbers, the cure of it is extremely difficult, and requires to be managed with great prudence and discretion. But . . . if States were not to attempt the correction of evils because they had become inveterate, there would be a dereliction of the very end of government."

Even some West India merchants were consider-

ing whether a suspension of the trade might not benefit the "Old Islands" which were specially connected with sugar. Thus in the session of 1804 the point debated was whether Abolition should be gradual or immediate, and some planters voted for immediate abolition, merely holding out for compensation. "Upon almost every division," he said, "brought on to retard a final division, the votes were two or three to one in favour of an immediate abolition." His constituents thought that at least he ought to have abstained from voting. But "it is at present a doctrine fully established that Members of Parliament ought to determine and act for themselves according to their own sense of right and wrong." Moreover, his views were well known when he stood for Inverness-shire.

"For twelve years," he wrote, "I had been a Director of the Sierra Leone Company, formed by Abolitionists, with the design of establishing an African commerce in which the traffic in slaves should have no part. My sentiments were generally known, especially in a large circle of friends in public and private life. . . . If I had been disposed to turn suddenly upon so selfish a motive (*i.e.* fear of losing the seat), what would have been said of their choice?"

The small details of his Parliamentary life need not detain us. Yet they enable us to see his character in a consistent light. Whether recommending a measure or a petition, forwarding the interests of a friend or addressing a constituent, he always advocated by advice and example a spirit of moderation. More, he wisely thought, could be done by sober argument than by violent outcry. Grant devoted himself in Parliament entirely to questions concerning Inverness-shire and India, so much so that we are rather uncertain as to his position on the general policy of the country. However, we are clear as to the outline of his views: he supported the Government of the day on the sensible

ground that any executive ought to be supported in a long and critical war. From the language he himself used, when he at last resigned his seat, in 1818, one would fairly say that he was, on general grounds, a Ministerialist, claiming, however, a right to vote on special questions as his conscience dictated. His services to Inverness-shire were such that he was really in the unique position of being independent.

Pitt dead, the "Ministry of All the Talents" was formed in 1806. Fox had a seat in the Cabinet, and the question of Abolition immediately came up. Grant had already had an opportunity to show his opinions in 1804, shortly after Pitt's return to power, and of course he now voted with the Ministry. It was expected that a dissolution of Parliament would soon be announced. One of the MacDonalds was already threatening to oppose Grant at the general election, and it was from this family that he always met with opposition. The new candidate relied, it was believed, on the support of the Ministry on the one hand, and on some unpopularity incurred by Grant as an Abolitionist on the other; it would be impossible to conceive two more irreconcilable grounds of opposition. He immediately gave out that he would fight to retain his seat.

"With respect to the present Administration," he wrote, "considering the great crisis in which we are placed, and the impropriety of opposition, for opposition's sake, to any set of men the King is pleased to employ, I mean to support them where I can without binding myself to go with them; . . . and I think they would be likely to be satisfied with this, and not to oppose me in the County, though the private connections of the MacDonald family will no doubt seek to influence the men who have now a lead in the affairs of Scotland."

MacDonald began to canvass early in the year, and therefore Grant both issued an address to the electorate

at large, and wrote privately to several chiefs. He earnestly defended his vote on the Slave Trade, while declaring himself opposed to complete emancipation. Later in the year he jotted down a note in his letter-book:—"I have had the pleasure of being since informed that the supposition of my having given offence by the line I followed with respect to the Slave Trade was unfounded."

When Parliament was dissolved, however, the would-be opponent found that he could only command seven family votes. So he retired from the field, writing a letter which Grant characterised as delicate and honourable. The latter was therefore re-elected. "I could hardly have flattered myself," he wrote, "with so general a good will on the part of the Freeholders as this canvass has discovered." This was early in November 1806. In less than four months there was another dissolution (April 1807). On this occasion the Freeholders of Inverness-shire met at once, decided to save Grant the expense and trouble of a journey northwards, and re-elected him in his absence.

In the winter of 1817-18 he performed his last service as sitting Member. The *Inverness Courier* of 15th January 1818 recorded that, by "his indefatigable exertions and personal representation to Lord Liverpool," he obtained a Government grant of £500 to supplement the sums raised by the local gentry on behalf of the starving population of Skye. In June he resigned his seat, and issued a valedictory address. His son, Charles, dated his address as candidate from London 13th June; his second son, Robert, was at the same time a candidate for the Elgin Burghs.

A County Meeting was held at Inverness on 14th July, Grant presiding *ex officio* as the retiring Member. He made a lengthy speech, which the *Courier* reported in full. He reminded his audience

how he had always voted for the continuance of the French war, because a real peace was unattainable except by complete victory. After 1815 he had deplored the bad times, and in the landed interest had voted for the Corn Laws; but the misery of the early years of peace, being greatly due to bad harvests, was beyond human precaution. On a general cry being raised for retrenchment, he had seen the impossibility of cutting down the military establishment to the level of 1792; officers and men who had done good service would thus be sent adrift, and it would have been bad in the interests of the nation, which wanted peace; but the cry was so strong that he voted for retrenchment. So also he had thought it right that the Property Tax should be continued for two years longer; but general opinion was opposed to it, and he supported its repeal. He thought that no defence was needed for his vote for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in the dangerous years of riot. In general, he had supported the Government through the long war and anxious days of peace, but "with a discriminating, not a blind support." He acknowledged that what he had done for the improvement of the Highlands was for the sake of future generations, though pressing severely for the time upon the landed interest; somewhat later[1] he amplified this argument, and his views may be given here. He declared that, if the landed proprietors had not borne their proportion of the expense of the new roads and bridges and canal, Government would certainly not have contributed the other half; the war being over, military needs less pressing, and retrenchment demanded, the cost of the maintenance of the same could not but fall on the counties concerned; all the sacrifices made in the construction would be lost unless a fair assessment were made upon the counties for the maintenance.

[1] *Courier*, 5th October 1820.

Charles Grant

Grant having thus, as it were, summed up his political ideals, MacLeod of MacLeod rose to propose that he be requested to sit for his portrait, which should then be hung in the County Room. Continuing, MacLeod stated that he had himself always hoped to represent his native county as his forefathers had done; "this hope has grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength"; but for the general good he would relinquish this idea. Then it was proposed that Charles Grant, the younger, be their Member. The election was unanimous, twenty-six Freeholders being present. Finally the meeting adopted MacLeod's suggestion, and voted that Grant be asked to sit for his portrait. A letter was drawn up, signed by the whole of the twenty-six, and entered on the minutes of the county, expressing thanks to the late Member "for your unwearied and successful perseverance in prosecuting to completion the grand work of opening the Highlands of Scotland to prosperity."

The unanimous vote of this meeting and the language of the enthusiastic *Courier* would lead one to suppose that Grant was universally popular, and that his son succeeded him at the universal wish. But such a supposition would not be justified. MacLeod, as we have seen, behaved generously in putting aside his own claims to the seat, but clearly at the cost of sacrificing his own ambition. Macintosh of Raigmore was present, and was one of the signatories of the letter of thanks, but was really not cordial. He was the editor and proprietor of the *Inverness Journal*, the rival local newspaper.

The opposition to Grant was caused by two circumstances: the industrial crisis of the years since Waterloo, and the idea that he had used his Indian patronage to secure his position in the constituency. On the second point it will be remembered that,

when Grant was first approached in 1800 and 1801 to represent the county, they avowedly pressed him to stand so as to restore the fortunes of a fallen family. He had been himself very sensitive on this point, and had at first declined, probably because he dreaded these very imputations. The storm burst shortly after his son succeeded him as Member. The chieftains resented the son's election, even though MacLeod had, with great generosity and good taste, waived his claims. The *Journal* of 12th October 1821 printed a long and sarcastic article.

"If Mr Grant," it was said, "was to offer his Newfoundland dog Towser for our Representative, and to send him down with a few Cadetships and a sprinkling of Writerships slung to his collar, honest Towser would no doubt get votes for his patronage, fine speeches in praise of the strength and volume of his eloquence, and professions of gratitude for his disinterested patriotism, as have been given in much more objectionable cases."

Later, in a letter to the *Journal*, these words appeared:—

"The fifth visit has now been paid us in as many half-years by our worthy quondam representative, whose affection for us increases with his years. Formerly he used to pay us one visit in seven or eight years. . . . There are knotty points to carry which could not be trusted to correspondence, which agents could not transact, and which the County itself could not manage, as indeed was shown last year when so many of the County patriots were turned from their backslidings after a similar visit (reference apparently to the question of the maintenance of Roads) and retraced their steps. . . . If any of the buttons from Towser's collar should be distributed amongst us (by-the-bye, although they seem very loose, they are very hard to be got off) it will be from pure benevolence, and without the least view to a return. A list of the proprietors of these buttons and a schedule of their

merits towards the public, with notes of the five visits, will show this by-and-bye."

These are but specimens of the attacks of the Inverness-shire Junius, whom public opinion identified with Raigmore. At a County Meeting Charles Grant, who was presiding, was requested to leave the chair, and the articles were brought up for general reprobation. Raigmore protested that the business was not suitable for the meeting; he declared that he was not the author, but was a proprietor of the *Journal*, which, he said, had made many sacrifices for the public good. The motion of reprobation was carried. Our account is taken from the friendly, but probably accurate, *Courier*.

We have thus given a brief account of the topics which principally engaged the attention of Grant as a Member of Parliament, with one exception. This was the part that he took in the discussions on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813, which we reserve for consideration in a subsequent chapter. There were few members more regular in their attendance or more diligent in their Parliamentary duties. Though, as we have seen, he chiefly concerned himself with subjects connected with India and with the Highlands of Scotland, he took a deep interest in the wider range of national and political questions. He severely felt the strain which this diligent labour entailed; but he was satisfied cheerfully to use for some years his influence and his wonderful capacity for work on behalf of the county he represented, the Empire he served, and the best interests of mankind and the world.

CHAPTER XV

MUTINIES IN INDIA

FROM A.D. 1806 TO 1812

The mutiny of Vellore—Sensation in England on receipt of the news—Grant's letter to Lord William Bentinck—Lord William removed from his appointment as Governor of Madras—Letters to Sir George Barlow—Remarks on the attacks against missionary effort on account of the mutiny—Letters to David Brown and George Udny—Despatch on the subject modified by Grant and Parry—Interview of Lord William Bentinck with the Court of Directors—Grant's estimate of his character—Madras mutiny of European officers—Imminence of civil war—Firmness of Sir George Barlow, the Governor of Madras—Visit of Lord Minto to Madras—His General Order—Close of the mutiny—His commendation of Sir George Barlow's conduct—Sensation in the India House—Approval of the Governor's actions—Agitation of the dismissed officers—Reversal of the Court's approval—Sir George dismissed from his appointment as Governor—Appointment of Lord Moira as Governor-General—Grant's indignation—His letters to Lord Minto and Sir George Barlow—Death of James Grant of Red-castle—Appointment of Henry Martyn as a Chaplain—Interest of Grant in his career—Simeon's correspondence with Grant regarding Henry Martyn's journey and death.

JUST before Grant was re-elected to the Direction of the East India Company, and before he was again chosen as Deputy Chairman, intelligence of the most startling character was received at the India House. Early in the morning of 10th July 1806, the sepoys in the garrison of the Fort at Vellore, about ninety miles west of Madras, suddenly rose in mutiny, and attacked their officers and European comrades. The ostensible cause of this terrible event was the publication

of certain Regulations issued by the Commander-in-Chief altering the sepoys' uniform, particularly the head-dress which had hitherto been in use, and prescribing one of a novel shape, while the appearance of the sepoys on parade with the outward signs of their caste was forbidden. The real reason was a rising in favour of the sons of Tippoo Sahib, the former ruler of Mysore, who had been defeated seven years before. These princes and their retainers had injudiciously been permitted to reside at Vellore. It was said that the sepoys were apprehensive that the Government intended forcibly to convert them to Christianity. This reason was not assigned by the sepoys themselves, so far as we are aware; but it appears to have originated with those who intended to make political capital out of this lamentable event. The immediate consequence of this catastrophe was the recall of Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, to whom the following letter was addressed by Grant:—

Charles Grant to the Right Honourable Lord William Bentinck.

India House, 17*th April* 1807.

You will learn what I cannot mention without expressing sincere regret on the occasion, that the authorities at home have deemed it necessary to make a change in the Government of Madras, which will, of course, put a speedy period to your stay in India. This measure was adopted in the last Direction, in which I had not a seat, and ratified by the Administration then existing. It has been confirmed by the present Administration; but the despatch was not signed till after my re-election to the Deputy Chair—a situation which required my signature to the letter, though I was not a party to the measure. My judgment, therefore, is less satisfactorily settled than it must have been if I had found myself called upon to take an active part in the decision. With my general impressions, and my good wishes for your Lordship,

it was a relief to me to be exempted from this task, and even the affixing my official signature to notify an act already done gave me pain. But I will not conceal that I deeply deplore the tragical event at Vellore, and the disaffection indicated both by the native troops and inhabitants in the Peninsula. These are symptoms of a nature most alarming, and, in a great degree, new in our Indian history. The public sentiment, especially in England, seems to have called for decisive steps in consequence of them. The Directors have, I am sure, only acted on public considerations; and I lament most truly that it should have been your Lordship's misfortune to be so materially implicated in transactions which did not originate from your suggestions, and the effects of which were, perhaps, aggravated by circumstances existing anterior to your Government. I wish your Lordship to believe that I have not been guided by various reports relative to the events now in question—reports which, I am persuaded, are equally false and absurd; and none more monstrous and malevolent than this, which would impute the fatal catastrophe at Vellore to the jealousy of the natives that they were to be forced to become Christians, which jealousy, it is said, was confirmed by the arrival of a number of Chaplains and missionaries, and their indiscreet zeal; and, these points being assured, certain individuals, myself among the number, have been accused of abetting such measures, and so made indirectly parties to the mutiny of the native troops. But there are not a few of our people, enemies to the propagation of Christianity, and to the spirit of that religion, who are prone to take every occasion of misrepresenting and vilifying attempts to diffuse the knowledge of it. The truth is, the English residents in India have, in general, been as likely to become Hindoos as to compel Hindoos to become Christians. They have been remarkably indifferent to their own religion. The efforts of missionaries, on the other hand, chiefly foreign Europeans, are not new. They have been employed for centuries, even under the native Governments; but all in the way of mild persuasion, and without the slightest disturbance of the peace. At Vellore or near it, I believe, there was not one Chaplain or missionary; and, instead of

over-running the country, the establishment of them was scandalously small and mean. I fear there are those who would even trample on the Cross to avoid the apprehension of native jealousy on the score of Christianity. That pure religion never can be propagated, nor ought to be proposed in any other way, than by calm reason and affectionate persuasion; but if in this way we could make any large portion of our Indian subjects Christians, it is clear they would then have a strong common principle with us, which now they have not, to attach them to us, and render our Government over them more secure. I know your Lordship thinks the question of attempting on a large scale the diffusion of Christianity in India a delicate one. I am also sensible that all attempts to introduce the Gospel among the natives should be governed by the utmost prudence. I am only saying something in answer to the absurd and malevolent tales which have been circulated on this head.

Charles Grant to Sir George H. Barlow, Bart.

LONDON, 18*th April* 1807.

You will learn that the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Fort St George are removed. Their successors are not yet determined. The whole current of private advices from the Coast represent the people and the native troops there to be in a state of dissatisfaction, if not disaffection, and trace the source of this temper not wholly to the most disastrous business at Vellore; but in part to antecedent causes, arising out of the general spirit and prominent measures of our Government there for some years past. I adopt this view of the subject. We are deeply alarmed by the curious symptoms and general alienation from the European rule which the Coast seems now to exhibit. I most of all suffer from the absurd, malevolent, and wicked stories which the weak, the prejudiced, and the enemies of Christianity have poured forth on this occasion to discredit, to bring into suspicion, to blacken as dangerous, the few poor and assuredly harmless efforts which have been made under the British Government to introduce the light of the

Gospel into India. Greater efforts were made by other nations centuries anterior to our ascendency there. . . . All those disaffected to the propagation of the Gospel among our own people, both in India and here, take this occasion to speak of the danger of allowing missionaries to exercise their functions in India. Doubtless, prudence and discretion are always necessary in that work. They are particularly so now; but if, from unworthy fears, we should disavow our religion, or even be led to silence all attempts to communicate it to our subjects in a mild and rational way, I should fear that the great Author of that religion would be provoked to withdraw His protection there from us.[1]

Charles Grant to Sir George H. Barlow, Bart.

LONDON, *1st June* 1807.

Your friends will advise you of some arrangements which have taken place since I addressed you on 18th April, in which you are concerned, namely, your appointment to the Government of Fort St George, vacant by the removal of Lord William Bentinck, and your re-appointment to the Government General, in case of the coming away of Lord Minto. The motives which influenced the leading part of the Court to propose these measures were briefly the desire of preserving your services to the Company in India, to do this in a way the least incompatible with your feelings which the circumstances of India at the time admitted, and to provide the Coast in its very critical and exigent state with the best Government which appeared within our reach. . . . You will perceive from the Court's letter to Fort St George relative to the Mutiny at Vellore, that we do not ascribe that unhappy event wholly to the capricious military orders respecting the dress of the sepoys, weak and imprudent as these orders were. A full examination of the evidence sent home has convinced us that the machinations of some of Tippoo's sons and their very numerous adherents were deeply

[1] *The Administration of the East India Company*, by Sir J. W. Kaye, p. 638. Bentley, 1853.

concerned in this fatal transaction by inflaming to jealousy and revolt the discontents which these orders had excited—a thing the more easily done, because most of the sepoys at Vellore were Mahomedans or exasperated Poligars. It appears better, in a political view, that the mutiny should have been so much the work of a fallen family and race always inimical to the British power, than that it should be the spontaneous offspring of the Hindoo mind of that order of men which forms the majority of our population. . . . The common cry of Englishmen in India, and of Anglo-Indians returned home, is that the encroachments upon caste have done all the mischief, and that the Hindoos in general are alarmed by the idea of our designing to make them Christians, either by compulsion or by disseminating Christian doctrine among them. I can see no evidence for the existence of such a general apprehension among the Hindoos. The first cry at Vellore was raised among the Mahomedan sepoys, and people of that religion invented the most extravagant tales at Hyderabad; but the Hindoos do not seem to have been under any general alarm, even on the Coast, and still less in Bengal, whence, however—that is, from the Europeans there—the language of alarm chiefly comes. They predict dreadful consequences from the preaching, writing, and itinerating of a few missionaries there, men, as far as I can judge, remarkably peaceable, humble, pious, and affectionate in their whole demeanour, and pretending to no influence but what the truth, fairly exhibited, is calculated to produce. . . . Caution and prudence are at all times necessary in proposing the truths of Christianity to heathens. There may be particular conjunctures when these are specially required; but for a Christian nation to say deliberately that they will prohibit the communication of that religion which comes from God, to fifty millions of men sunk in idolatry, superstition, and vice, is a proposition so monstrous and shocking, so contrary to the most rational and probable cause to be assigned for the conduct of Providence in committing so vast an Empire to our care, that I tremble at the thought of it, and the consequences it would be likely to produce. I shall be sincerely sorry if any measure

adopted in India shall contribute to an issue I so much deprecate. Many questions are agitated about the irregular entrance of some missionaries into India, and the imprudence of countenancing their labours after the natives have shown so much alarm (in the reports chiefly, I believe, of Europeans); but the real question depending is, whether the door shall be shut to the entrance of missionaries into British India. If ever it is deliberately settled in the negative, I shall consider the warrant assigned for the translation of our Empire there, and I hold this opinion with men of greater name and authority than mine.[1]

From the mass of correspondence regarding the controversy which arose over the Mutiny of Vellore and the action of missionaries in Bengal, we select two or three letters written by Grant to Brown and Udny, which will clearly show the part he took in the discussions on the subject in the India House. He felt that there had been some slight indiscretion exhibited on the part of Buchanan and of the Baptist missionaries; but, at the same time, Edward Parry and he stretched forth their hands, and saved them from the sweeping condemnation which some persons in the India House contemplated.

Charles Grant to the Rev. David Brown.

INDIA HOUSE, *20th June* 1807.

I have felt deeply the attack made upon the missionaries, or rather, through them, upon the cause of the Gospel itself in Bengal. . . . They are supposed to have been abusive of the Hindoo deities, and one of their Bengalese tracts has been sent home and translated by a person not very friendly to their cause. There has been an eager propensity to send out strong orders at once to restrain the missionaries, or, at least, to confine them to Serampore, and encourage our Government in the discountenance it has of late shown

[1] *Administration of the East India Company*, Kaye, p. 639.

them. It is lamentable to see many men of parts and respectable in society so little sensible of the nature of Christianity, and of the obligation of nations and individuals possessing that religion to extend the knowledge of it, especially to heathen subjects of their own, and above all, so little sensible, what lies more level to the understanding of political men, the really wise policy of introducing this beneficent religion into our Eastern territories; and, on the other hand, the shocking injustice of determining to keep the many millions inhabiting these territories ignorant of our knowledge and light, lest by emerging from their darkness, they should become more difficult of retention under our Government. . . . For the present we hope the idea of sending out strong orders is given up, and it is not a small point to have gained time, and obtained an opportunity to the friends of religion in this country to know the state of the case, and to bring it under the notice of the public. . . . All that is known here is from private letters, and though those of a hostile nature contain censures in the gross, they do not attempt to fix any particular charge upon the missionaries, unless it be the tract translated here. It gives little support to such charge, there being only one verse which can be challenged, and this says no more than that the Hindoo Shastras are fables and their philosophy fit for children. In the meantime, the Chairman has written to Lord Minto, and I have written to Sir George Barlow, deprecating prosecution and proscription of the missionaries or their labours so long as they demean themselves prudently, and maintain that character of piety, solidity, and benevolence for which the magistrates and other considerable persons give them credit. . . . You will, perhaps, be ready to say that all this is doing little, and that you expected a check from home to the measures that had been taken against the missionaries in Bengal, so that they might be at liberty to proceed as before. My friend, this has been impossible. The tide was so strong that, if God had not been pleased to use two well-intentioned, though weak, instruments, in situations in which my colleague and I are, orders of a very different kind would, in all probability, have been transmitted. You may suppose in respect to this and other points things practicable

here, which are not so. . . . There may be real danger in setting the opinions of a multitude afloat, if the effects stop there. The shaking and loosening of old opinions may in a mob have a reaction ; those who are not convinced may be irritated. It may be said such was the way of the first missionaries ; but, if their extraordinary commission makes no difference, at least the different circumstances of the countries in which they acted and of modern India ought to be considered. . . . I do not quite despair of getting a qualified license to the Mission from home. This would be a great point, but time is requisite. Let the missionaries do all that prudence and their present degree of liberty will permit, and wait in hopes of something better. I think Sir George Barlow is well inclined to their object, though timid, and Lord Minto is, at least, unlikely to become a persecutor. . . . I lament that the successors of Lord Wellesley did not imitate him in countenancing ministers of religion and ministerial labours. If anything could have bribed me to wink at enormous faults in his administration, this would. But we must not do evil that good may come.

Charles Grant to George Udny.

INDIA HOUSE, *9th April* 1808.

My own situation in this House is unspeakably laborious and wearing. Some questions which have been agitated here, and among them that concerning the missionaries, have introduced disunion, and my influence is not what it was. I am overwhelmed with distress, and almost shame, at seeing the fate of the Mission in Bengal, and I am grieved that imprudence in the past has contributed to this. The enemy here will triumph, and we shall sink lower.

Charles Grant to George Udny.

INDIA HOUSE, *15th September* 1808.

The question about the missionaries is composed for the present. We received a long despatch in the Secret Department on their imprudent conduct

and publications, and the restrictions under which the Government had placed their preaching and printing. This has occasioned us sore trouble. Mr Parry and I have made the stand that we thought duty required. The answer returned is far from being such as we proposed; but it is better than the majority of the Court would have dictated, and it is so from the interference of the Board of Control. It is a qualified, lukewarm approbation of what was done; but with great respect for the general principle of introducing the Gospel into India, and with clear intimations of doing no more against the persons in question than necessity absolutely requires, and of the propriety of allowing them to preach to native Christians of all descriptions, and to publish their translations of the Scriptures. In short, after fully explaining ourselves verbally as well as in writing, Mr Parry and I thought we could sign that letter, for, otherwise, the dispute might have remained open, and worse ensued; for the truth is, the publications of the missionaries—some of them at least—are quite indefensible and discreditable, and, if the subject had come into open discussion in this country, would have brought reproach on the whole of their undertaking and its abettors; and we have thought it a great deal to effect such a compromise as should leave all the roots of the Mission standing, keep things quiet, prevent further suspicion, and probably, in course of time, give the missionaries more liberty in prudent exertions. Incredible has been the trouble and the anxiety I have had on this subject.

The despatch to which reference was made in the above letter, dated 7th September 1808, is printed *in extenso* in Sir John William Kaye's *Christianity in India*.[1] The statement given by Grant shows how the result was obtained, and how very different from this calm, temperate, and judicious letter the despatch would have been, had it not been for the persistent and courageous behaviour of those two brave men, Edward Parry and himself. This letter, not written

[1] P. 513.

for publication, but simply a private utterance addressed to an old and valued friend in Calcutta, takes us within the Council Chamber in Leadenhall Street, and reveals to us how the despatch was modified, how milder counsels than were at first intended ultimately prevailed, and how the stronger language of others was softened by wise conciliation. The whole despatch need not be reproduced here, because it can be consulted in Sir John Kaye's admirable work; but it will be well to quote a few sentences so as to show what the intention of the Court was, and to prove that, whatever may have been done afterwards for the prohibition of Missions in Bengal, was done contrary to the written judgment of the Court of Directors, expressed some time before the renewal of the Company's Charter, when more complete religious liberty in India was granted.

"We are anxious," they said, "that it should be distinctly understood that we are very far from being averse to the introduction of Christianity into India, or indifferent to the benefits which would result from the general diffusion of its doctrines; but we have a fixed and settled opinion that nothing could be more unwise and impolitic, nothing even more likely to frustrate the hopes and endeavours of those who aim at this very object—the introduction of Christianity among the native inhabitants—than any imprudent or injudicious attempts to introduce it by means which should irritate and alarm their religious prejudices. . . . We rely," they added, "on your discretion that you will abstain from all unnecessary interference with the proceedings of the missionaries. On the other hand, it will be your bounden duty vigilantly to guard the public tranquillity from interruption, and to impress upon the minds of all the inhabitants of India, that the British faith, on which they rely for the free exercise of their religion, will be inviolably maintained."

Nothing seems fairer or more equal than the senti-

ments contained in this despatch. There was no excuse for any harshness or rigour being exercised towards any who kept within the prescribed bounds of order, toleration, and decorum, as we believe the Serampore missionaries did. It is difficult at this distance of time to understand to what indiscretion or intemperance of language Grant refers, as he does not quote the words to which he took exception; but it is quite certain that many of the phrases employed in this despatch owe their origin to him, and that the cause of Missions is deeply indebted to him and to Edward Parry for the noble stand which they then made.

Before the echoes of the Mutiny of Vellore have completely ceased, Grant's estimate of Lord William Bentinck's character should be stated. Lord William had several interviews at the India House; and evidently the Directors, who had recalled him from his appointment as Governor of Madras rather hastily, and without having heard anything that he might have had to say in defence of his administration, seem to have been softened in their opinion regarding him. Grant, in a letter to the Senior Member of Council at Madras, wrote:—

Charles Grant to William Petrie.

LONDON, 16*th September* 1808.

We have repeatedly seen and conversed with Lord William Bentinck since his arrival here. He appears to be so honest, frank, and well-meaning, in short, to have so many good points about him, that I have much regretted the disaster which at length befel him. Whether he has all the steadiness, comprehension, and energy which the Government of a great country requires, some may be inclined to question. It is certain, I believe, that he manages his faculties with so little pretence or show, that perhaps his want of assumption may lead persons to underrate them.

To the same correspondent Grant wrote again a little later :—

"Your political letter of 24th December 1807 seems to speak with shyness on the delicate topic of the public mind. We have certainly a grand theatre on which to study and to promote the happiness of a large portion of the human race ; and, notwithstanding the objections which must exist in the minds of the natives to a foreign Government like ours, there is still a great deal in our power. But, unhappily, changes of men and of systems, and the frequent recurrence of war, have prevented the steady prosecution of this sublime end. Like other Governments, ours has been too much confined to the cares and exigencies of the day. We have not had ease and leisure for contemplating and pursuing plans of comprehensive good, or this had been our happy case ; but, only during short intervals, as in the Government of Lord Cornwallis,—a name never to be mentioned without regret, and of his successor, when the acts of peace were truly cultivated."

He went on to insist on the absolute necessity for further retrenchments in the expenditure of the Madras Presidency in order that the Directors of the Company, being set free from their financial embarrassments, might pursue the congenial path of amelioration and reform, which, it may be remarked, was afterwards so steadfastly followed by the distinguished statesman about whom he had just been writing, but whose career he himself was not permitted to behold.

During the second period in which Grant occupied the position of Chairman, tidings were received of another momentous crisis in the history of British India, which was, perhaps, sadder and more dangerous than any previous event, because it was occasioned by the want of judgment and wrong-headedness of British officers. This was the Madras Mutiny of 1809. When Sir George Barlow assumed charge of the Government

of Madras, he found several matters awaiting settlement. Among them was the question of abolishing the Tent Contract, by which officers commanding the Company's regiments were entitled to draw a fixed allowance for providing tents for the men, whether the regiment was on the march or in cantonments. The Quartermaster-General of the Madras Army had been requested to draw up a report on the subject for the Government, who, under the late Governor and Commander-in-Chief, had resolved to abolish the system; but, on their removal, it fell to Sir George Barlow's lot to carry this decision into effect, as a part of the retrenchments ordered from home. This excited the indignation of the officers concerned, and they demanded that the Quartermaster-General should be tried by Court-martial for having, as they considered, reflected on their honour in the report which he had presented. General Macdowall, the Commander-in-Chief, who had previously felt irritated himself, because, on his appointment, he had not been given a seat in Council, placed that officer under arrest, a proceeding which, on appeal, the Governor reversed. General Macdowall was just on the point of embarking for England; and, before leaving, he issued an inflammatory order, in which he protested against the proceedings of Government, and stated that the Quartermaster-General had been guilty of insubordination. The Governor replied by a counter-order of still greater warmth, directing that this General Order should be expunged, and, as the Commander-in-Chief's resignation had not been sent in, removing him from his office. He likewise suspended the Deputy Adjutant-General, who had signed the Commander-in-Chief's General Order. There was much sympathy expressed for this official by the malcontent officers.

There was a lull for a time in the condition of affairs; but a good deal of seditious language and correspondence ensued, and a memorial was prepared

for presentation to the Governor-General, which, however, was not actually presented. Tidings of this being brought to the ears of the Governor, he issued, on 1st May 1809, a General Order, in which he animadverted very severely on the behaviour of the officers, and suspended four of them, removing eight others from their commands. This order set the whole army in a blaze. The Company's European regiment at Masulipatam broke into open mutiny; the officers at Jaulna and Hyderabad signed a memorial to Government demanding the repeal of this distasteful Order so as to prevent the horrors of civil war; those at Seringapatam seized the fortress, and held it against the Government. Sir George Barlow remained perfectly calm and self-possessed during this perilous crisis, and having, as he was aware, the power of Bengal, Bombay, and Ceylon at his back, he showed no sign of yielding. Meanwhile, the Governor-General was on his way to Madras, where he arrived on 11th September. A month before this, the incriminated officers had addressed a penitential letter to him, and the disaffected regiments had returned to their duty. On his arrival, Lord Minto issued a General Order, severely rebuking the malcontents, but addressing the Madras Army as a whole in terms of wisdom and conciliation. He also published an Order granting a general amnesty, with the exception of twenty-one officers, of whom subsequently four were cashiered, one acquitted, and the remainder dismissed.

Several letters from Lord Minto to Grant have been preserved. He thoroughly approved the conduct of Sir George Barlow throughout these lamentable events, and urged the Court of Directors to recommend the Government to confer on him a signal mark of honour. He entreated Grant, as Chairman, to confer with Col. Leith, of whom he spoke in high terms as an impartial observer. Sir George Barlow is commonly repre-

sented as a cold, hard, and stern man, who had not attempted to win the confidence of his colleagues; but he seems to have behaved most admirably in the hour of peril. Threats of personal violence were made and reported to him; but as Colonel Leith, who had the confidence of Lord Minto, stated:—

"He heard all this very placidly, he neither assumed any boastful air nor showed any despondency; but with that firm, modest tone, which true courage and a consciousness of rectitude always inspire, he determined on making no concessions, giving up no points, nor taking any particular precautions for his personal safety; but calmly watched the progress of events, resolved on taking the first moment of vindicating the honour of his Government that the delusion of the ringleaders would admit of. That all which he has done will meet with your approbation and that of the Direction I can have no doubt."

The news of these events created quite a ferment in Leadenhall Street. The Court of Directors and the people of England were astounded, and the tone of public opinion was clearly indicated by the serious depreciation of East India stock. The whole matter of the Madras Mutiny was warmly discussed in the Court; and it will be seen from Grant's correspondence how difficult it was for him and the members who agreed with him to advocate the cause of Sir George Barlow, who had shown, as he asserted, a courage and promptitude which he was not prepared to expect. They carried their point, however, and, on 23rd July 1811, he had the satisfaction of informing Sir George that his conduct had received the approbation of the Court. The friends of the dismissed and suspended officers, on their side, continued to agitate both in and out of Parliament, and they were eventually restored. Much to Grant's indignation, the whole subject of Sir George Barlow's policy and conduct was brought

forward in the Court at a later date, after the dissolution of Parliament, when Grant himself was obliged to be among his constituents in the North of Scotland, and other Directors were absent; and, as the result of the matter being discussed in the absence of so many of his friends, Sir George was removed from his position as Governor of Madras. At the same time it was determined, although there was no necessary connection between the two subjects, that Lord Minto should be superseded at once in his position as Governor-General, though he had signified his desire to be relieved of his duties in that appointment at no very distant period. Lord Moira was appointed Governor-General in his stead.

The following letters were written by Grant to Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto.

Charles Grant to Sir George H. Barlow.

LONDON, 18*th December* 1812.

You will probably have heard before you open this letter that the malevolence of your enemies has at length prevailed, and that the Court of Directors have actually removed you from the Government of Fort St George. I mention the fact with deep regret and indignation and shame. . . . The glaring injustice of this proceeding cannot be sufficiently reprobated. In fact, it holds out encouragement to future revolt, and is a lesson of terror to every Governor who might be disposed to obey the dictates of public duty in opposition to the stream of popular favour. Such a perversion and abuse of authority is afflicting, and I feel humiliated by the conduct of the body to which I belong. That body is the weakest part of a system, on the whole, good for the government of India, and the imperfections which attend it, with the greatest difficulty of removing them, strengthens the disposition which other motives have formed in my mind to abandon a situation where so little good is to be done, and such frequent mortifications endured. With respect

to the present event, the manner in which it has been brought about is almost as surprising as the thing itself. At a moment least expected, after the dissolution of Parliament, and when I was necessarily among my constituents in Scotland, notice was introduced into the Court of bringing on in a week afterwards, when it was impossible that absentees at a distance could be present, the questions of a change in the Governments of Bengal and Madras. The removal of Lord Minto, and the supersession of your appointment as eventual successor to him, was a gross injury to him and to you; but still the exaltation of a new man to the Government-General required no change in the Government of Madras. There was no connection between the one measure and the other. No reason was assigned for the latter, no apparent object in it but your disgrace. . . . Half a dozen of the Court have honourably opposed the whole, and have protested against it. I am about to do the same. But I must say that the extent of the prejudices so industriously spread through this country respecting the military disturbances at Madras, is likely to prevent a general sympathy with those who feel for the interests, public and private, so cruelly rewarded by this pernicious and unwise exercise of power.

Charles Grant to the Right Hon. Lord Minto.

LONDON, 18*th December* 1812.

All minor topics are superseded by the extraordinary measures which have lately been taken here respecting the Indian Governments, whereby, in the first place, your Lordship is dispossessed of your high situation without any assigned reason or plea, and before the time at which you had signified an intention to quit it, although that time was near, and your intention known. . . . I think the great office of Governor-General of India ought not to come within the vortex of the ministerial system at home, or be liable to be affected by the fluctuations of power from one party to another; and that no Governor-General should be removed abruptly, and contrary to his wish, without the assignment of an adequate reason. These principles

have been violated in your Lordship's case, and you have been disparaged by the outrageous proceeding towards Sir George Barlow, whose distinguished conduct you had liberally supported and applauded.

This chapter has been mainly political, but before its close we must mention two matters which fall within the period it embraces. These are the death of Grant's cousin James, and further mention of his ecclesiastical patronage. James Grant's constitution had of late become considerably impaired, and we read in Mrs Grant's letters of his having been with her and her family at Cheltenham and Malvern, whither he had gone for the sake of his health. He had recently been much drawn towards his cousin, although there had, for a time, been a coolness between them, which had been occasioned by an attachment to the latter's eldest daughter Maria, who was much younger than himself. She declined his advances, chiefly on religious grounds, in which her father fully supported her; but their friendship was subsequently renewed, and she was his principal comforter in his last hours. He died near Esher 22nd October 1808. As he was unmarried, the estate of Redcastle descended to his cousin and heir, Colonel Alexander Grant; but he left legacies to Charles Grant's daughters. In him a very prominent figure drops out of our Memoir. He was at one time a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service, and rendered good service in the Revenue Department. He somewhat resembled his cousin in character, though he was not nearly so persevering and consistent.

We have before mentioned the great good which Grant was the means of effecting in his Ecclesiastical patronage, and the help he received from the wise judgment exercised by the Rev. Charles Simeon in the selection of candidates. In the year 1805 he had the pleasure of sending the Rev. Henry Martyn as a Chaplain to Bengal, and he took the deepest interest

in him during his brief but brilliant career. Simeon often wrote to Grant for his personal and official intervention when he desired to communicate with Henry Martyn on his homeward journey. The Rev. Thomas Thomason, another of Grant's nominees, sends Simeon a picture of their friend, and addresses the package to Grant. Simeon wants to send money for Martyn's use at various points in his journey. He requests Grant to make such arrangements as will ensure the payments by the British Consuls or other authorities on the route. Anxious to secure repayment of this money to Grant, he adds, for this special purpose, a codicil to his will. The letter referring to this transaction is most interesting, and we believe that the information which it contains regarding this kindly act is new.

Rev. Charles Simeon to Charles Grant.

K. C. CAMB, 25*th December* 1812.

A thousand thanks to you for your kind and ready compliance with my wishes. My object was to supply my dear Brother with all that he may want to pay physicians, and to secure the best accommodation on board of ship for any time that it may be needful. With that view I would earnestly wish that every different Consul might be empowered to assist him to the full extent of his necessities, providing only that the amount altogether shall not exceed £1000, and this might be done by each Consul being requested to inform him that there are letters of credit lodged for him in such and such different places to the amount of £1000 in all. I have this day received a letter which says that he expects Alexandria in Egypt or Constantinople to be the place where he shall reach the Mediterranean. It is desirable too that the Consuls be authorised to inform him that the money is a present and not a loan; for then he will have no anxiety about the repayment of it. I think I shall write a few lines to him at each place, and forward it to you to be counter-

signed, or enclosed in another of your own to the Consul. Did I not know that your head is in perfect unison with mine in this matter, I should make ten thousand apologies for the liberty I am taking; but I believe you will account nothing a trouble which you can do for such an honoured servant of the Lord.

In a letter written four days previously to the above there is the following codicil to the will of the Rev. C. Simeon:—

"Whereas I have entreated Charles Grant, Esq., to make use of his own high credit in order to ensure a supply of money to my dear and honoured friend, the Rev. Henry Martyn, at whatever place he may be found, I, for the sake of securing the said Charles Grant, Esq., the repayment of any sum that may be advanced on the credit of his name, do order and appoint that whatever sum may be advanced to the Rev. Henry Martyn, not exceeding £1000, be paid to the said Charles Grant, Esq., in preference to any legacy whatever."

It is affecting to remember that the object of all this thoughtful solicitude had, more than two months before, fallen asleep in Christ beneath the walls of Tokat.

When news of the lamented death of Henry Martyn reaches England, the first person to whom Simeon communicates it, is Grant.

"Grieved," he writes, "I am to communicate to you the most distressing intelligence of Mr Martyn's death at Tokat in Asia Minor, on his way either to Constantinople or Aleppo. He had set out from Tebriz on the 1st September (much too soon for the state in which he had been), and died about the 16th of October; but whether from the heat and fatigue of travelling, or from the plague, which was raging there, is uncertain. But what words can express the loss which India and the whole world have sustained!"

CHAPTER XVI

RENEWAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER

A.D. 1813

Early negotiations on the subject with the Board of Control—The Company's monopoly of the trade with India and China—The Government opposed to the retention of this privilege—Grant supervises the defence of the Company—Indian officials appear as witnesses before the House of Commons—The House decides against the Company's monopoly in the Indian trade — The China trade retained—Grant's diligent attendance in the House —The religious question—Letters to Brown and Udny—Letter to Sir George Barlow — Claudius Buchanan — Wilberforce's Cabinet Council—Introduction of the Bill into the House by Lord Castlereagh—Petitions to Parliament—Treatise on the *State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain* —Remarks on this treatise and extracts from it — Ecclesiastical Resolution passed—Debate on the Second Resolution—Eloquence of Wilberforce—Bill passed—Assistance of Grant's eldest son—Letters to Udny—Appointment of Bishop Middleton —Grant bids him farewell at Portsmouth—Udny's account of his reception—Character of Bishop Middleton — Grant's letters to him—Reference to the Baptist Mission in Bengal—Letter to Dr Carey—Remarks on missionaries interfering with Indian politics —Prominent position occupied by Grant in the whole controversy regarding the renewal of the Company's Charter.

THE most essential services which Grant ever rendered were in connection with the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813. The two chief principles involved in the proposed modifications in that Charter were the opening of the trade with India and China, of which the Company then enjoyed the monopoly, and what may fairly be called the extension of religious liberty into India. The former subject will be con-

sidered first. Negotiations with reference to it between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control were begun as early as the year 1808, when Grant was Deputy Chairman; and, as he succeeded to the Chair in the following year, he was compelled, by the high position he held in the Court of Directors, to take a leading part in the controversy regarding the renewal of the Charter. Perhaps there was no portion of their privileges to which the Directors clung more tenaciously than the retention of the monopoly of the trade to India; and at first they adhered inflexibly to their demand that this should be entirely retained in their own hands. The President of the Board of Control, however, insisted that independent merchants should be permitted to trade with that country from English ports and in their own ships. The financial embarrassments to which the Company was then subjected, opportunely occurred to quicken the arguments of the President; and as the Directors were, later on, compelled to apply to Parliament for relief, this had a considerable influence on public opinion against their pretensions. The current of popular feeling was strongly against them. The commerce of the country had of late years marvellously increased; the nation was engaged in a trying war which demanded the development of all its resources; and the Government determined to propose that, though the Charter should be renewed for another twenty years, the exclusive trade with India should be abolished. The Company's exclusive trade with China, however, was to be retained.

Grant was, very naturally, in favour of the position taken up by the Directors, and he courteously, but firmly, maintained it during the whole progress of the negotiations. He was also entrusted by the Court with the responsible duty of preparing an apology on their behalf, and of thus defending their privileges and rights. In pursuance of this commission he took a

good deal of pains in the preparation of this defence, which was drawn up by an experienced and accomplished writer under his personal supervision. As he was materially supported in the House of Commons by the eloquence of his eldest son, so in his written defence he had the pleasure of being greatly assisted by the pen of his equally gifted son Robert, who about this time published an elaborate work on the expediency of maintaining the Company's privileges intact.[1]

The Court of Directors were, at their own request, defended by counsel in the House of Commons, and witnesses were examined on their behalf. Several of the most eminent men who had rendered them distinguished service in the highest offices of State were examined by a Committee of the whole House. Among these were Lord Teignmouth, Sir John Malcolm, Colonel, afterwards Sir Thomas, Munro, and the venerable Warren Hastings, then in his eightieth year, but still fresh and clear in the recollection of his experiences in India. These skilled and practised officers, with one accord, gave evidence in favour of the retention by the East India Company of the commercial privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed. There could be no doubt as to the disinterested character of their testimony. They had no private interests to advance. Their sole desire was the benefit of India. They sincerely believed that the Company had governed that country well, and that an influx of European traders would tend to injure not only the commercial advantages of the Company, but the inhabitants of India themselves. Notwithstanding this evidence and the efforts of Grant and his colleagues, the Legislature set its face resolutely and firmly against the claims of the Company on this point.

[1] *Expediency of Maintaining the System by which the Trade and Government of India are now Regulated.* London, Black, Parry and Co., 1813.

No one was more indefatigable in urging these claims and in supporting the Directors than Grant. His industry was marvellous. He attended every meeting of the House when in Committee, and while the examination of witnesses was proceeding. On one occasion, when pleading for delay in the consideration of the evidence, he stated to the House that "his attendance on Committees had been so constant and unremitting, that he had hitherto had no time to read over the evidence since it was printed." During the various discussions and debates that ensued he spoke sixteen times, and, after his speeches had been reported, he was dissatisfied with some of the reports, and took the trouble of sending to Hansard corrected copies of his speeches delivered on four occasions.[1] He had at the same time his work at the India House to perform.

The chief interest, however, centred in the second subject which we have mentioned, namely, the extension of religious liberty to India. It will be remembered that this subject was debated in the House with the greatest warmth, when, twenty years before, a vigorous effort was made to introduce certain clauses into the Bill at the renewal of the Charter, which, if they had been carried into effect, would have secured what was desired at an earlier date. This object was then defeated. The Resolutions which contained these provisions remained indeed in the Statute Book; but they were not embodied in the Act as it was subsequently passed, and they were thus rendered inoperative. The subject of these Resolutions, from the day they were passed until it was now revived by the approach of the expiry of the Charter, never faded from the memory of those who were most concerned in proposing them. Grant, writing to a friend in India, expressly stated that it had been weighing on his mind for

[1] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xxvi. pp. 1229-1251.

many years. Now, when it was once more being revived, his heart instinctively turned to the old days, when Chambers, Brown, and he were doing their best for the introduction of the Gospel into Bengal. Addressing David Brown on 2nd May 1812, he said:—"It is expected that, with a renewal of the Company's Charter, an enlargement will be given to the introduction of missionaries into India; and I hope you will live to see the work of Christianizing the earth, which you and I and Mr Chambers sanguinely advocated six and twenty years ago, really advancing upon a large scale."

He also wrote to George Udny, whose name was appended to the "Proposal."

Charles Grant to George Udny.

LONDON, *2nd May* 1812.

The business of the renewal of the Company's Charter has so much engaged me for a considerable time past that I have not been able to write to you. I returned to the Direction on the 8th of last month without any opposition, although I had been threatened by a party who espoused the cause of the mutinous Madras officers. In no part of my public conduct have my motives been more clear or my judgment more decided; but the disputes respecting the Madras affairs have, to my grief as well as wonder, much divided the Court of Directors. I was not in any habits of confidence with the late Chairs, and much of my labour in view to the renewal of the Charter has been voluntary and solitary. The tide of popular prejudice has been prodigiously high against the Company, and there is no doubt that the trade to India will be made free to all British merchant ships. I send you a copy of the papers that have passed between His Majesty's Ministers and the Court of Directors. Those to which my name is subscribed, along with other names, were written by me.

Two other letters, addressed to Sir George Barlow

and George Udny, are appended, because they help to bring into rather strong relief the great labour he bestowed upon the matter, especially upon the commercial subjects connected with the renewal of the Charter, and the intense difficulties which he had to combat.

Charles Grant to Sir G. H. Barlow.

LONDON, 1*st June* 1812.

Old inveterate prejudices, private interests, popular meetings, combinations, canvass, and a diligent use of the press, have raised a great tide against the Company. It is now, I think, subsiding a little, and we hope that the public mind will be enlightened and rectified on the subject; but I apprehend the Indian trade, at least, will be laid open. The merchants of this country seemed at first to imagine that, if they could get to the region east of the Cape of Good Hope, they would find a boundless scene for their enterprise; but they have been so far undeceived by our writings and other information on this head, that they now turn their chief attention to wresting from the Company the trade they enjoy, not excepting that of China. In this last object I would hope no administration will support them, and we make the retention of the Indian army by the Company indispensable to the efficient continuance of their political capacity.

Charles Grant to George Udny.

LONDON, 3*rd June* 1812.

You will learn that, though returned to the Direction, I was in neither of the Chairs; and that political differences had produced alienations between members of that body formerly cordial towards each other. Such is the case between the gentlemen who now fill the Chairs and myself. I might, I believe, had I chosen to contend for it, have succeeded to the Deputy Chair, even against the inclination of the principal;

but I did not choose to put myself forward. To say the truth, the envy which I before experienced in that situation, the ill-will and resentment of those whose interest and views the discharge of my duty had led me to oppose, the immense burthen, labour, and anxiety of the office in the difficult and perilous circumstances of the Company, had altogether proved such a strain upon my mind, so entirely engrossed my time, as not only to supersede the due care of my private affairs and my family, but to deprive me of the proper use of religious means, and the due cultivation of spiritual interests and affections. And, therefore, though in the critical circumstances in which the Company remained, I felt myself bound, if called upon, still to afford such service as I could render in one of the Chairs, yet I thought it not expedient to offer myself again as a candidate for either; and there was a part of the Court gratified that I did not. I state these circumstances because you will see from them that I by no means possess that unbounded influence in the Court which many, taking their estimate from what I did once enjoy when in the Chair, suppose still to belong to me.

Meanwhile, Grant had felt much satisfaction in hailing the advent of a new ally in the person of Claudius Buchanan, to whom he had written as follows so far back as September 1805:—

Charles Grant to the Rev. C. Buchanan.

You have been writing, I find, with a view to the consolidation of the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India. I have had that subject on my thoughts for years. Perhaps your entering into it first may answer better than my slower proceeding; but, if your plan be to establish episcopal jurisdiction in India, who, I pray, so fit to begin that system as those clergymen who have supported the cause of the Gospel there? I should therefore look to Mr Brown and yourself first to fill the offices of Superintendent.

We observe that the idea had long before 1813 crossed Grant's mind of either Brown or Buchanan

being the fittest person to occupy the office of Bishop, when the time for such an appointment should arrive. But this dream was never to be fulfilled. As to Grant's suggestion, it is only just to Buchanan's memory to give his humble reply:—

"As to returning in order to receive episcopal dignity, my soul sinks at the thought of it. I trust my lines will rather be cast in a curacy. Place the mitre on any head. Never fear. A spiritual Bishop will appear in good time."[1]

Buchanan had already, while in India, published a volume advocating the expediency of creating an Ecclesiastical Establishment in that country. In the spring of 1813 he published another treatise on the same subject, entitled *Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishments*, which exercised a decided influence in favour of the cause which he so ably advocated.

No one, however, did more than Grant himself. It must be borne in mind that he had a difficult twofold part to play. On the one hand, he had to act as a member of the Court of Directors, who had to prepare evidence on behalf of the Company, and to advocate their cause on the subjects of administration and trade. On the other, he had his duty to perform as an independent Member of Parliament; and to urge, against some of his colleagues, the prudent and cautious propagation of the Gospel in India. But the greatest stress of labour was in Parliament. Ample preparation was made by Wilberforce, Grant, Thornton, Stephen, and Babington. These five constituted a kind of Cabinet Council, of which Wilberforce was the Prime Minister. He was their principal spokesman in the House, and their chief authority in the country. He threw his heart thoroughly into the cause, which, as he said, after the Slave Trade, was England's greatest

[1] Kaye's *Christianity in India*, p. 284.

national sin;[1] and the fiery energy which had released the slave burst forth again in all its pristine power. On 19th March 1812 he made the following entry in his diary:—

"To town to meet Grant, and with him to Lord Melville (formerly Mr Robert Dundas, Henry Dundas's son) about getting leave for Gospel light to pass into India. This is indeed a cause for which it is worth while being a public man."[2]

At length this important question came on for discussion in the House of Commons. On 22nd March 1813 the subject was opened by Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Leader of the House. In a temperate speech he advocated the renewal of the Company's Charter accompanied by the opening of the Indian trade; and later on he proposed that a Bishop and three Archdeacons should be appointed to superintend the Company's Chaplains. Grant was in his place on this occasion, and spoke briefly. Wilberforce did not say much; but, from what he observed, he clearly perceived that the temper of the House was then adverse to the proposed legislation on this subject. At once he set himself to work in order more thoroughly to rouse the religious public, and to induce all who were in any way interested in the matter forthwith to prepare and send in petitions to Parliament. On 30th March the examination of eminent witnesses, to which reference has already been made, began, and the character of the questions put to them on this subject plainly indicated the direction in which the minds of those who attended the Committee of the House were turned. After hearing this examination, Wilberforce indignantly wrote:—"Shall Christianity be the only religion which is not to be tolerated in India?"[3] So urgent did he consider the

[1] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. iv. p. 116. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 16.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 109.

case that he summoned a meeting of his Privy Council even on a Sunday. "Stephen, Grant, Thornton, Babington, and I to discuss about the Lords' examination of witnesses on religious business." A little later Wilberforce was "consulting with Grant and Stephen, and looking over the list of the House to see whom we severally ought to speak to."[1] Again, a few days after, this entry appeared in his diary, "Talked over the mode of proceeding in cabinet council with Grant, Babington, Stephen, and Thornton." As the result of all this deliberation and labour, about nine hundred petitions in favour of the clauses were laid on the table of the House, and Wilberforce was able to point to them as showing that the heart of the country on this subject was thoroughly roused.

Grant did not speak much on the religious part of the discussions in the House; but the strength which he lent to the cause was in his pen. A treatise which he had written some years previously was at this time ordered by Parliament to be printed as a State paper, and it exercised a very considerable influence on the discussions in the House of Commons. Allusion has already been made to this pamphlet; but, as it had been laid aside and forgotten until occasion arose for its being reprinted by order of the House, and it now became of much practical service, this appears to be the most appropriate place to mention it more in detail. For this purpose it is necessary to go back a little in our narrative. The year 1792 was chiefly spent by Grant in writing this elaborate and thoughtful treatise, into which he poured the accumulated knowledge that he had acquired during his long residence in India. It was primarily intended for the use of Mr Dundas in considering Indian affairs at that time, and for the information of those who were about to undertake the advocacy of the very subject which had again come

[1] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. iv. pp. 109, 110, 117.

before the Legislature. It remained in manuscript for some time, and was at first shown only to his most intimate friends, such as Wilberforce and Thornton and Hannah More; but five years later, when he had occupied a seat in the Direction of the East India Company for three years, he placed it before his brother Directors, modestly calling it merely a tract.

"According to the intimation which I lately took the liberty of giving," he wrote in a Preface addressed to the Court, "I have now the honour to submit to your consideration, a tract which bears upon a subject pressed by repeated proposals on your attention, namely, the communication of Christianity to the natives of our possessions in the East."

"Incapable at best to do justice to the several topics which it embraces," he said at the conclusion of this Preface, "I might yet, if in India, the centre of materials and information relating to them, have produced something less unworthy of notice; but, though I held there the leading opinions now advanced, no idea of giving any publicity to them by writing ever occurred to me, until my return to this country, when, persuaded of the expediency of some attempt of that kind, and incited by a particular occasion, I hastily drew up the substance of the present essay. It has, however, since lain by me unused, and my other avocations have allowed me only to revise it, not to form a new work, as would certainly have been desirable. . . . Under these disadvantages, I am content to come forward, at the call of a greater interest, forming no pretension to literary merit, nor having on that score any higher hope than that you may be pleased to receive this tract on the footing of one of those many papers of business, with which the records of your Governments have been furnished, by the observation and experience of men whose time and thoughts have been chiefly employed in the concerns of active life."

This treatise was entitled, *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with Respect to Morals; and on the Means*

of Improving it.[1] Even at the present time it is well worth reading, for it represents the views and opinions of an observant English gentleman, who had for a long time resided in India, and who represented the ripest thought regarding that country which was then obtainable. When it is compared with some of the numerous pamphlets published at the time, its excellence stands out very clearly.

After a brief sketch of the previous history of India, Grant sought to impress on his fellow-countrymen a sense of the enormous power and the consequent responsibility which they were incurring. He then drew a very dark, and, perhaps, in some respects, too dark, picture of the moral condition of Hindu society at that time, which he attributed almost entirely to their religion. His object was, he says, "to engage compassion, and to make apparent that what speculation may have ascribed to physical and unchangeable causes springs from moral sources capable of correction."

The final chapter, in which he described what he considers the right remedy for this evil, is the most remarkable and the most worthy of study of all this notable treatise. "The true cure of darkness," he said, "is light"; and then he anticipated, with almost prophetic insight, what has been done, however imperfectly, during the hundred years that have elapsed since he wrote. He advocated the teaching of the English language, which, he remarked, "is a key which will open to the people a world of new ideas, and policy alone might have impelled us, long since, to put it into their hands." He foretold the advantages which would flow from the knowledge of English literature, European mechanical science, improvement in agriculture, and even the use of steam; but, above and beyond everything else, the true exhibition of the Christian religion.

[1] See Parliamentary Papers, 1813, No. x.

"Undoubtedly," he said, "the most important communication which the Hindoos could receive through the medium of our language would be the knowledge of our religion. It is not asserted that great effects would be immediate or universal; but, admitting them to be progressive and partial only, yet how great would the change be, and how happy at length for the outward prosperity and internal peace of society among the Hindoos. Men would be restored to the use of their reason; all the advantages of happy soil, climate, and situation would be observed and improved; the comforts and conveniences of life would be increased; the cultivation of the mind and rational intercourse valued; the people would rise in the scale of human beings; and, as they found their character, their state, and their comforts improved, they would prize more highly the security and the happiness of a well-ordered society."

"What great accessions of wealth," he wrote, "would Bengal derive from a people intelligent in the principles of agriculture, skilled to make the most of soils and seasons, to improve the existing modes of culture, of pasturage, of rearing cattle, of defence against excessive drought and rain; and thus to meliorate the quality of all the produce of the country. All these are still in their infancy. The husbandman of Bengal just turns up the soil with a diminutive plough, drawn by a couple of miserable cattle; and if drought parches, or the rain inundates, the crop, he has no resource; he thinks he is destined to this suffering, and is far more likely to die from want than to relieve himself by any new or extraordinary effort. Horticulture is also in its first stage: the various fruits and esculent herbs are nearly in a state of nature; though they are planted in enclosed gardens, little skill is employed to reclaim them. In this respect, likewise, we might communicate information of material use to the comfort of life, and to the prevention of famine. In silk, indigo, sugar, and in many other articles, what vast improvements might be effected by the introduction of machinery. The skilful application of fire, of water, and of steam, improvements which would thus immediately concern the interest of the common people, would awaken them from their torpor, and give activity to their minds. At present

it is wonderful to see how entirely they resign themselves to precedent: custom is the strongest law to them."

Grant foresaw even the great danger, which has made itself too sadly apparent in the present generation, of the more intelligent among the people being "loosened from their own religious prejudices, not by the previous reception of another system in their stead, but by becoming indifferent to every system." Yet, with all the earnestness and the fervour of his heart, he advocated the inculcation of Christianity.

"Do we wish to correct, to raise, to sweeten the social state of our Indian subjects?" he pleaded. "Would we at little cost impart to them a boon, far more valuable than all the advantages we have derived from them? The Gospel brings this within our power. Of the effects which it would produce in civil society, if men acted according to its principles, we may, in the words of Bishop Horne, say that, 'in superiors it would be equity and moderation, courtesy and affability, benignity and condescension; in inferiors, sincerity and fidelity, respect and diligence; in princes, justice, gentleness, and solicitude for the welfare of their subjects; in subjects, loyalty, submission, obedience, quietness, peace, patience, and cheerfulness; in all men, upon all occasions, a readiness to assist, relieve, and comfort one another—whatsoever, in a word, that is pure, lovely, and good.' And is this the religion we hesitate to communicate to those whose welfare it is alike our duty and our interest to consult?"

He concluded with these emphatic words:—

"The writer will not allow himself to believe that, when so many noble and beneficial ends may be served by our possession of an Empire in the East, we shall content ourselves with the meanest and the least; and, for the sake of this, frustrate all the rest. He trusts we shall dare to do justice, liberal justice, and be persuaded that this principle will carry us to greater

heights of prosperity than the precautions of a selfish policy. Future events are inscrutable to the keenest speculation; but the path of duty is open, the time present is ours. By planting our language, our knowledge, our opinions, and our religion in our Asiatic territories, we shall put a great work beyond the reach of contingencies; we shall probably have wedded the inhabitants of those territories to this country; but, at any rate, we shall have done an act of strict duty to them, and of lasting service to mankind."

It must be borne in mind, when reading these words, that they were written more than a century ago, when there was the most violent opposition to every truth contained in them. Having thus considered Grant's treatise, which exercised a marked effect on the deliberations of Parliament, we return to the debates in the House. Though he had always taken a deep interest in the religious, as well as in the commercial, questions involved, he wisely left the advocacy of the former in the House to the skilled management of Wilberforce. The Resolution regarding the Ecclesiastical arrangement passed without a division. The second Resolution, which was the point of contention, ran as follows:—

"That it is the opinion of this Committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and of religious and moral improvement. That in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs."[1]

This Resolution was very similar to the Resolutions of 1793; but it was a little more skilfully worded. As the former Resolutions were drafted by Grant, it is

[1] Kaye's *Christianity in India*, p. 274.

most probable that this one also was prepared by him, and amended by Wilberforce's Cabinet Council.

On 22nd June this Resolution was moved by Lord Castlereagh. In this debate Wilberforce spoke, and for two hours captivated the House by the sweetness of his eloquence. Although his pleading may not have been free from exaggeration, he never spoke with greater vigour nor produced so marked an impression. He pointedly referred to Grant's treatise, which he called a "Memoir written by a dear and most honoured friend — a member of this House." The final struggle took place on 1st July, on the resumption of the debate in Committee, when Mr Marsh, a retired barrister who had once been in India, attacked the missionary clause with considerable vigour, and a reply was made to him by Wilberforce in another energetic and fervid speech. The Bill was read a third time and passed on 12th July, and after having been approved by the House of Lords, it received the Royal assent on 21st July.[1] Right nobly had the battle of religious toleration in India been fought by Wilberforce, Grant, and their colleagues in the House of Commons. Grant's eldest son ought to be particularly remembered, for we quite agree with Sir John William Kaye's remark:—"It must have been a fine thing to have seen the two Charles Grants—father and son—fighting side by side on the floor of the House."[2]

After this Resolution had been passed, Grant wrote again to George Udny.

Charles Grant to George Udny.

LONDON, *4th September* 1813.

Reasonable and moderate as this enactment is, you cannot well conceive what opposition it met with,

[1] *Hansard*, vol. xxv., 1813; *History of British India*, by H. H. Wilson, vol. i. pp. 497, *seq.*

[2] Kaye's *Christianity in India*, p. 273, *n.*

among the Anglo-Indians especially; and how violently they declaimed on the dangerous effect it would produce in the Indian mind, which, according to them, would, from the expression of an opinion so directly providing at the same time for the security of the natives in the free exercise of their religion, conclude that the Government sought to convert them to Christianity, and, of course, believe that influence was to be used to that end. I own I cannot apprehend any danger of this kind, if they are left to themselves; but, if Europeans are industrious to spread their fears, ideas may be conceived by the natives, of which, otherwise, they would not think. Should they show any symptoms of suspicion, it will be right in the friends of Christianity to maintain strenuously that no compulsion or influence is intended; and indeed they will, in all probability, be soon satisfied of this by the little countenance which the Company's Servants in general will give to missionaries. The duty of communicating Christianity in India is now directly recognised by the Legislature. That is a great point. It will place missionary exertions in future upon a more respectable footing. Pray inform me how the enactment is received by the Europeans and natives, and what degree of sensation it produces, as also who among the Company's Servants are favourable to the object.

A Bishop of Calcutta was soon appointed under the provisions of this Act, whose jurisdiction was to extend over the members of the Church of England in India and Ceylon, and an Archdeacon for each of the three Presidencies—Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The privilege of obtaining access to the inhabitants of British India was granted to European missionaries; and an annual grant of a lakh of rupees (£10,000) was voted for the purpose of promoting education among the people, though a sound system of education was not originated for another forty years. Thus was this simple, but important, Act passed. No one was an iota the worse for it, but hundreds of thousands were the better; and the grandchildren of those who fought

this battle for justice can scarcely understand the stir that it created. The first Bishop was the Rev. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, D.D., then Rector of St Pancras. He was a man of literary tastes and instincts, and he had obtained distinction by the publication of a learned treatise on the Greek Article as applied to the criticism of the New Testament. He was privately consecrated in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace on 8th May 1814, and soon afterwards sailed for Calcutta. Grant, who had gone to Portsmouth for another purpose, had an interview with him before he left, and had, on the whole, been prepossessed in his favour. He wrote regarding him to Udny from that port.

Charles Grant to George Udny.

PORTSMOUTH, *8th June* 1814.

I cannot avoid saying a word respecting your new Bishop, of whom I have taken leave this morning. I have lately come into habits of good acquaintance with him, and am inclined to believe that he is an instrument well chosen for the new and delicate office he is going to fill. He did not ask for that office. He declined it when offered, but afterwards, thinking it afforded a better field for usefulness than he should have any other way, he offered his service and was accepted. He had good preferment and prospects here; he has no children to provide for; no passion for money. In learning, propriety, and general respectability of character he was thought very considerable before he arrived at the new dignity. I think myself that he has the interest of religion at heart, that he will wish to do good, that he will be active in his endeavours, that he will be moderate and prudent in his own carriage; but that he will first direct his attention to the Christian communities already existing in India, that he will be a very regular Churchman, cautious as to associations for religious purposes, particularly those out of the Church; but that he is well affected to Christianity among the heathen, provided that it can be effected without danger. He has heard much from

different quarters. He has probably been bred up in a dread of enthusiasm. He may be much restrained and very cautious in his first measures and declarations, but I think he is a man of kind, benevolent intentions, and desirous to do good. I hope true Christians in Bengal will find him friendly to the thing; and, if they are prudent and conciliating without improper sacrifices, that any prejudices he may have imbibed as to them will rather be lessened. As he finds them to be really good men, he will respect them.

This was rather faint praise. It described the character of Bishop Middleton with tolerable accuracy, and it was very clear that Grant did not altogether feel comfortable in his mind about the ecclesiastic whom India was about to receive. The Bishop arrived at Calcutta on 28th November 1814. Proper preparation for his reception there had been entirely neglected. He was met at Saugor on his way up the Hooghly by George Udny, no longer, we regret to say, a Member of Council. Kaye wrote about the Bishop's arrival, "so commenced the episcopal period of Christianity in India. There was no commotion —no excitement at its dawn." There was indeed no commotion among Mahomedans or Hindus. It was not, however, quite without sensation among the European portion of the community, as will be seen from the account of it given by Udny, which is so curious, and yet so graphic, that it deserves quotation.

"The arrival of the Bishop in Calcutta and his induction into his see has caused a good deal of sensation in the Settlement. I was glad to hear your opinion of his character before I saw his Lordship, which I made a point of doing at Saugor, on board the *Warren Hastings*. I was pleased with his dignified manner and affable address. I had an opportunity of facilitating his journey to town, an attention for which he expressed himself much obliged, so that we have met here again on more familiar terms than those with which the generality have

been received. I found in conversation with him at Saugor that he expected his reception to be marked with great attention. He asked about Government House, intimating, as I conceived, that he was to be lodged there. He was told it was under repair. I told him that Sir George Nugent (the ex-Commander-in-Chief) would have been glad to accommodate him at his house, but for the confusion it was in preparatory to his own embarkation for Europe. On inquiry I found that the Bishop had made no preparation for his own accommodation. It appeared to me that there was no alternative for him but a tavern, to prevent which, as degrading to him and disrespectful to religion, I had determined to put my own family to inconvenience, and to offer him rooms at our house—a house too of smaller size than my own, which is under repair. This arrangement, however, was rendered unnecessary from his receiving several offers, of which Mr Seton's (a Member of Council) was accepted."

It would certainly have been "degrading" and most extraordinary, if a man holding the high position of a Bishop had, in those days, gone to a tavern on his arrival in Calcutta. In whatever qualities the European residents in the Indian metropolis may then have been wanting, they were not deficient in the grace of hospitality; and, therefore, it is not surprising that directly Udny perceived the failure in the arrangements for the Bishop's reception, he did what he could to repair the omission. Bishop Middleton was not able to bear the oppressive climate of India very long. He did not continue more than six years and a half in the position to which he had dedicated his services. It cannot be said of him that he fulfilled the desire of those who had been advocating episcopal authority and the extended influence of the Church of England in India. Those who had engaged in the struggle for religious liberty in that land were thoroughly imbued with the missionary spirit; and it is quite evident that

Bishop Middleton did not come up to the standard of their expectation in this respect. He seems to have been cold and formal and correct, and regarded himself more as the official head of the Chaplains than as one who was desirous of being the leader of every effort for the extension of the Gospel in India.

Grant wrote to the Bishop twice, but the letters are too long for publication. A few only of the more interesting passages in them can be quoted. The first was dated 9th January 1815. The following extract relates to the subject of Missions, gently reminding the Bishop of their supreme importance, and pointing out that the Chaplains could afford practical help in this direction.

"All the efforts," he remarked, "that have been made by the nations of Christendom are small indeed compared to the vast extent of the regions we now govern; and, amidst an immense ocean of heathenism, it seems difficult to preserve long alive any sparks of real religion kindled there. On this account the decline of the Danish Missions is to be deplored. The conduct of the most excellent Schwartz was a model, and his practice of establishing schools for the young appears to be one of the most effective methods for giving root to Christianity in that soil. I confess I should be glad to see an increase of well-directed and prudent efforts in this way within the Church, and regret that so few of the Chaplains have shown any zeal at all in this grand concern; although it is enjoined by a Regulation of King William, still in force, that they should instruct their heathen and Portuguese servants and dependants in the Protestant religion."

More than a year and a half later, Grant wrote another letter to the Bishop, a few extracts from which will throw some additional light on former statements, and bring into prominent relief the breadth and generosity of his views.

Charles Grant to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

LONDON, *August* 1817.

It would, as it seems to me, have been of the highest importance if the Nation and the National Church had paid an early attention to the moral state of the many millions of benighted heathens placed by the dispensations of divine Providence under British rule, particularly in Eastern India. If the great work of evangelising the natives had been early taken up in the manner here suggested, it might now have been vastly more advanced than it is, and in a way which would have placed the Church of England in the pre-eminent station it was entitled to occupy in such an undertaking; and the failure is more to be lamented, because it did not proceed from mere inattention. Some of the Chaplains of the Bengal Presidency, among whom were the late David Brown, and the present Archdeacon Owen, publicly addressed Lord Cornwallis, recommending the principle of communicating the light of Christianity to the natives under his Government. With those worthy men I had the satisfaction to act; but our efforts were unsuccessful. Lord Cornwallis was dissuaded by the persons he consulted. There was a spirit of latitudinarianism, or more properly, infidelity, then very prevalent in Bengal; and he himself had been unfavourably impressed by the sort of converts he had seen among the Indians of North America.

It fell to my lot to prosecute this subject after my return to England in 1790. I had been brought into some habits with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge before my arrival here. Soon after, I used such endeavours as were in my power with some of the most active and distinguished members of that Society to induce them to patronise the extension of its missionary labours in India; and these endeavours were continued as opportunities permitted for several years. Within the same period, and in view to the renewal of the Company's Charter, which was to expire in 1793, I addressed the Minister for India, then the late Lord Melville, on the general subject,

on which, as he had many of the common prejudices, it became proper to endeavour to obviate them, and to make him somewhat acquainted with the moral state of the Hindoos; but efforts incomparably more valuable than mine, conducted chiefly by Mr Wilberforce, produced in 1793 an important Resolution of the House of Commons, recognising the duty of communicating the light of revelation to the Eastern subjects of Great Britain. The intrigues, however, of a party at the India House defeated the design of introducing a provision to this end in the Charter Act.

Although a Parliamentary sanction had not been obtained to the general principle of opening India to Christian instruction, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was already a privileged body; and, favoured by the East India Company, having religious establishments even within the British territories in the East. What I, therefore, had pressed and continued to press, upon certain members of that body, was an increase of the number of their missionaries in the East, and especially a continuance of the fullest exertions in order to uphold the valuable Mission of Tranquebar, which had flourished for nearly a century under the auspices of the Society, and was then, from the course of nature, soon to lose its most valuable instruments, Schwartz, Gericke, and others, on which account a supply of new missionaries became a matter imperatively urgent. My efforts failed. Some very leading members of the Society at that time thought it better that, at a period when, through the effects of the French Revolution, religion seemed to be endangered at home, the funds of the Society should be chiefly reserved for home services, and the same system has continued to the present day. The immediate consequence was that even the Tranquebar Mission was suffered to fall into decay. The more general consequences of the adoption of this system then was that, instead of the Society's becoming the national organ for the introduction of Christianity in what was, at that time, properly British India, and maintaining the foreground, other English associations for the extension of the Gospel there sprung up, stimulated by a sense

of the duty resting upon the nation as Christians, and as invested with the care of many millions of human beings sunk in the grossest pagan darkness. The Society has thus lost the station it might, as I humbly conceive, most advantageously for itself, the Church, the nation, and the cause of the Gospel, have occupied.

I have troubled your Lordship with this detail, as the matter of it stands connected with the sentiments I entertain respecting the attempts of different denominations of Christians to introduce the Gospel into India —a subject on which, in our relative situations, I deem it candid to explain myself to your Lordship. Although I would, on every account, have preferred the exertions of the Church of England in India, yet I could never make it a question whether any form of Christianity which held the essential doctrines of the Bible would not be better there than the gross superstitions of Hindooism. And, considering the immensity of that field, even looking only to the British dominion, and the comparative littleness of the best missionary efforts, that the whole of this country, or indeed of Europe, was likely to make, I could not but think that the serious attempts of any denomination of Protestant Christians were more to be desired than feared. When it appeared that nothing was to be hoped for from the fittest organ, the National Church, what was a person in my situation, convinced of the importance and obligation of communicating the Gospel to the Indian subjects of Great Britain, to do? Could he abandon the object altogether, because that particular way of presenting it was not adopted? I sincerely judged otherwise, and when the zeal of Protestant Dissenters began to operate to this end, I certainly could not but wish success to such endeavours as they might use with due prudence and discretion. Afterwards, when a Society for the same object was formed of members of the Established Church, I thought it my duty to join them.

No reply was received to these letters. After reading Grant's sentiments regarding the work of the Baptist Missionary Society in the province of Bengal,

which had been settled there for the past twenty years, it will, perhaps, be appropriate to mention here his connection with that Society. He had taken no active part in its foundation. He would, however, have been ready to have helped Carey from the very first, if Dr Thomas had not accompanied him; but he declined to sanction in any way the return to Bengal of one who had so signally failed in temper and judgment. We learn from Grant's statements in the above letter that, while he would have preferred to see the Church of England assuming a more prominent position in missionary effort in Bengal, he had followed the course of the Baptist Mission in that province with the most sincere satisfaction. He continued to watch its progress with sympathetic attention; and the following extract from a letter written to Dr Carey so late as July 1821 shows that he thought it right to utter a word of warning, when he was of opinion that Carey and his colleagues were overstepping the bounds of discretion, and treading dangerously near interference with disputed points of Indian politics. This letter is notable as being Grant's latest extant utterance on the subject of Indian Missions which had so long occupied his thoughts.

Charles Grant to the Rev. W. Carey, D.D.

LONDON, 10*th July* 1821.

To the great cause in which you are engaged, and to the important branch of it which has been long under your care, I may presume to say that I have been an unvarying friend. I hailed the first determination of the Baptists to institute an Indian Mission, although then combined with some circumstances which did not, I confess, increase my expectations of success. Indeed in the year 1786, in connection with two friends, all of us at that time in Bengal, I had been using some endeavours to excite the attention of persons of authority and influence in England to the duty and

importance of communicating the Gospel to the natives of our Eastern Empire. But the first advance in this grand design was reserved for the Baptists, and worthily they have maintained the post of honour. I have watched over their progress, have rejoiced in every thing that was auspicious to their undertaking, and have suffered when adverse conjunctions threatened it, not shrinking then from affording any aid that might be in my power. In the course of time it has become more and more manifest that their labours were crowned by the great Head of the Church ; the conversions of the natives, as well as the translations of the Scriptures effected by the instrumentality of the Baptist missionaries, must have astonished every unprejudiced reflecting mind ; their Christian exertions, their distinguished attainments in Oriental literature, their prudence and their devotion to the cause, have nearly silenced opposition, and it may be now said that an open door is set before them. . . . I wish, with deference, to submit to you and to your colleagues whether it is not expedient that a missionary should generally abstain from the discussion of topics of a political nature relative to India and its inhabitants, even though his object may be solely the promotion of the welfare of both, and that this, though a secular way, may be said to fall within the scope of his office as a missionary. In acting otherwise he might, perhaps, do good and also escape animadversion ; but he might too, I fear, expose himself to the charge of going beyond his province, and inconveniently near the disapprobation of the governing authorities at home or abroad, to the eventual prejudice of his own cause. I will explain the occasion of these reflections. *The Friend of India*, by the Serampore missionaries, I think a work well conceived, executed with ability, in general with good judgment, and fitted to be very serviceable to the natives ; it is another evidence of the zeal and benevolence of the missionaries, and it ought to be continued. But this work is, from its nature, likely to draw the authors insensibly into discussions liable to produce censure and reaction ; and, as an instance, I would refer to the first number of the Quarterly Series, in which one article is on "The Effect of the Native Press in India," and another article on "The Agriculture

of India" advocates the abolition of the Regulation prohibiting Europeans from holding landed property in that country. These are very delicate as well as important questions. There is a quick feeling here respecting them, especially concerning the Press, and this is no wonder after what we have lately seen. Nor, were it more the practice of certain of our functionaries at home to look into missionary writings, would it be improbable that their discussions on these topics would produce some unpleasant consequences. It is not enough to look to the favourable disposition of the present Government in India, for, besides a liability to change either in the Government or its dispositions, the temper of the authorities at home ought to be considered. I do not propose here to enter into anything like a regular examination of either of these questions, or of the essays upon them in *The Friend of India*. The subjects, however, seem obviously of a political nature, and hence do not regularly come within the missionary's province, even though it should be said that the use of them would subserve his object, neither are they subjects which may be handled by him without hazarding a charge of meddling with political and State affairs, which charge, whether it were kindly and liberally urged or not, might be productive of injury to his main and direct concern.

We have thus endeavoured to trace the course of Grant's labours in one of the most momentous eras in the history of the East India Company. We have seen how heartily he had exerted himself in preparation for it long before the public discussions on the subject had commenced; how he had been actively engaged in negotiation between the Court of Directors and His Majesty's Government; how he had, during his occupation of "the Chairs," been the medium of communication between the two offices; and how potent his influence had been in defence of the East India Company. Although he undertook the defence of their commercial policy only by his oral advocacy in Parliament, he materially influenced the opinion

of that Assembly regarding the religious aspect of the question by his treatise on India which had been printed by order of the House. So that, perhaps, we cannot be far wrong in asserting that no one occupied so prominent a position throughout the whole controversy. It seems to us, who can clearly behold the reflection of the light cast by the history of the last ninety years upon the events of those days, that he was wrong in his views of the commercial policy of the Company, though he erred in very distinguished society; but there can be no doubt that India owes to him the deepest gratitude for his courageous, consistent, and manly advocacy of the Christian policy for the free admission of those who have benefited her a thousandfold more than others have done by the marvellous expansion in her commerce and her trade.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS

A.D. 1813 TO 1823

Outlook on the arrival of Lord Moira in India—Optimism of Lord Minto—The Pindaris—Intrigues among the Mahratta princes—The war in Nepal—Events at Poona—Unrest at Nagpore—The Governor-General's plans—Converging armies advance towards Central India—Defeat of the Peshwa at Kirki—Attack on the Residency at Nagpore—Battle of Seetabuldee—Defeat of Holkar at Mahidpore—Lukewarmness of the Court of Directors—Educational views of Lord Hastings—Letter from Grant to the Governor-General—Views on the Mahratta war—Vindication of the policy of the Directors—Financial embarrassments—Approval of the Governor-General's educational plans—Another letter on the Governor-General's policy—Letter on hearing of Lord Hastings' resignation—Proposal for a pecuniary grant to the Marquis of Hastings—Grant's opposition to it—His political testament—Interview with Lord Bexley—Noble adherence to principle and duty.

The concluding portion of Charles Grant's long service at the India House coincided almost exactly with the notable administration of the Marquis of Hastings as Governor-General of India. Leaving England in April 1813, this distinguished nobleman assumed charge of the Government at Calcutta on 4th October in that year, and laid his great responsibility down on 1st January 1823, the year in which Grant died. We propose to give a brief abstract of the more important events of that time so far as they serve to elucidate Grant's views upon them, and to illustrate this part of his official life. During the

year 1815-16 he was again Chairman of the Court of Directors, and it was his duty to prepare the draft of the despatch from the Court on the Nepalese War, to which he refers in the first of the letters addressed to his Lordship.

Lord Minto, when he left India, was under the impression that perfect peace prevailed throughout the country, and that there was only one quarter in which there seemed to be any likelihood of this tranquillity being disturbed. The Earl of Moira, afterwards the Marquis of Hastings, when he assumed charge of the Government, found that there were no less than seven distinct disputes which might at any moment have led to the necessity for war. Within the last few years one very formidable power had arisen. It was not a settled State with an orderly Government, nor one of the great nations which might step forward as claiming the sovereignty of India. It consisted of bands of marauding brigands called Pindaris, who, under a few desperate and determined leaders, rapidly roved through Central India, oppressing and plundering the people, and sometimes penetrating even into British territory, or into countries under the protection of the British Government. Some of the great Mahratta rulers aided and encouraged them. In the year before he left, Lord Minto had remonstrated with the Court of Directors against their rigid peace policy in such terms as these:—"Is it expedient to observe a strict neutrality amidst these scenes of disorder and outrage, or to listen to the calls of suffering humanity, and interfere for the protection of the weak and defenceless States who implore our assistance?"[1] There was, moreover, a wide-spread conspiracy against the British authority entertained by the Mahratta chiefs themselves. Lord Moira's experienced mind at once

[1] *History of India*, Marshman, vol. ii. p. 257.

perceived that there were around him the elements of a contest more general than had yet been encountered; and, from the very first, he calmly and quietly set himself to the task of preparation. An entry in his private journal, written soon after his arrival, stated the plan which he had adopted in this emergency, for, as he wisely remarked, "it is always well to ascertain to oneself what one would precisely desire, had one the means of commanding the issue." This plan was, that "we should hold all other States as vassals, in substance though not in name; but possessed of perfect internal sovereignty, and only bound to repay the guarantee and protection of their possessions by the British Government with the pledge of two great feudal duties—first, that they should support it with all their forces on any call; second, they should submit their mutual differences to the head of the confederacy (our Government), without attacking each other's territories."

The first war that took place during his administration was an invasion of the frontier kingdom of Nepal, inhabited by a tribe of brave and hardy mountaineers, called Gurkhas, who had wantonly attacked some petty British outposts. The initial campaign was unsuccessful; but, with the skilful strategy adopted by Sir David Ochterlony, the second campaign brought the war to a favourable conclusion. The previous failures, however, had emboldened the enemies of the Government, and the great Mahratta conspiracy was widened and deepened. The centres of intrigue were at the several capitals of the Mahratta States—Poona, Gwalior, and Nagpore. At Poona the Peshwa, the reputed head of the Mahratta confederacy, was supposed to be in alliance with the British Government, having been a party to the treaty of Bassein executed in December, 1802. He had recently banished an unworthy courtier named Trimbakji, who had

procured the murder of an envoy from the Guicowar, another Mahratta prince, in the most flagrant and unwarrantable circumstances, and who had escaped from custody and instigated revolt. Mr Mountstuart Elphinstone, a most able statesman, was the British Resident at the Peshwa's Court. This nominal ally was on the verge of revolt.

There was equal unrest at Nagpore. Appa Sahib, the Raja of Berar, had recently come to the throne by the assassination of an imbecile cousin. He also was supposed to be in alliance with the Government of India, and yet he was secretly plotting against it. Mr Jenkins, another excellent statesman, was the Resident at his Court. Dowlat Row Sindia, the Mahratta sovereign at Gwalior, who, with his colleagues, had been so signally defeated by the British under Lord Wellesley, was intriguing with the authorities both at Poona and Nagpore. Tulsai Bhai, the stepmother of the young Raja at Oojein, who was generally known among the English by his hereditary title of Holkar, was likewise in communication with the other recalcitrant chiefs.

The Governor-General had for some time been quietly arranging his plans. He himself left Calcutta on 8th July 1817, and joined the army of the north, being Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor-General, and holding the supreme command in his own hands. Separate armies were simultaneously converging on Central India from Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The force with which he was connected went direct to Sindia's capital, Gwalior; and, when it was two marches from it, Sindia, on 5th November, surrendered, and signed a treaty, agreeing to remain neutral during the war, and to give the British temporary possession of two strong fortresses. Meanwhile, events were progressing at Poona, and, on the same date, the Peshwa's army attacked the Residency, and was totally defeated at Kirki, two miles from

Poona. At Nagpore there was the same semblance of friendship and the same secret revolt. The Residency was attacked on 25th November, and the battle of Seetabuldee added to the Anglo-Indian arms one of the noblest victories known in history. Holkar's army was defeated at Mahidpore a month or so later. Thus by a series of masterly movements, the Mahratta confederacy was effectually crushed, and the Governor-General's policy of securing the paramount power of Great Britain in India was completely attained. The Pindaris also were entirely dispersed.

We have thus endeavoured briefly to give a sketch of contemporaneous events that light may be thrown on the following correspondence. The homeward side of these events most concerned Charles Grant. It will be seen that he, in common with the majority of the Court of Directors, looked coldly on the policy of the Marquis of Hastings, though he could not help acknowledging the ability with which this policy had been achieved. He still lived in the past of Lord Cornwallis's days, and was too tightly swathed in the bands of financial apprehensions. He relented, however, when he observed the interest which Lord Hastings took in education.[1] His heart warmed towards a Governor who could express himself in the following terms on this important subject:—

"This Government never will be influenced by the erroneous position that to spread information among men is to render them less tractable and less submissive to authority. It would be treason against British sentiment to imagine that it ever could be the principle of this Government to perpetuate ignorance in order to secure paltry and dishonest advantages over the blindness of the multitude."[2]

[1] *The Administration of the East India Company*, by Sir J. W. Kaye, p. 590. London, Bentley, 1853.

[2] *History of India*, by Marshman, vol. ii. p. 357. London, Longmans.

Charles Grant to the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings.

LONDON, *April* 1817.

When, in the year 1815, it appeared necessary to write rather explicitly on the subject of the Nepaul War, which had assumed a serious aspect, I was in the Chair; and I can truly assure your Lordship that the political despatch sent on that subject towards the close of the year originated not in opposition to you, but in a conviction of the sentiments it contained—sentiments, I believe, universally held by the Court of Directors.

As to myself, who, from my situation, had some lead in framing the despatch, I only acted in consistency with opinions I had long entertained; and, agreeing with the system of Indian foreign policy sanctioned by that eminent man, the late Lord Cornwallis, which, indeed, harmonised with the doctrines of the first Lord Clive. I am not, your Lordship will believe, about to institute any argument upon that subject. All I mean is to show that I acted upon principles long established in my mind, and to indicate what those principles were. I am well aware how widely the system followed by Lord Cornwallis was departed from after his first Government, with what splendid effects, and how many advocates have defended the policy which produced the Treaty of Bassein, the cause of the subsequent war with the Mahrattas; but I never could be satisfied of the justice, nor of the sound policy, of that compulsory treaty. The alteration of what has been done in this way is a different, and would be a very serious, question, which certainly I do not mean to agitate; but I am inclined still to believe that our Indian dominion is not so well secured by vast extent, and by bridling all the Courts of Hindostan, as it would have been by a more moderate and compact territory, and leaving the other States to themselves, strictly observing the principles of justice towards them, and highly cultivating our internal resources.

After the fall of Seringapatam, which we acquired in a necessary war, purely defensive in its principles, we had, I apprehend, more security as well as more

clear revenue than after the conquests achieved over Dowlat Row Scindia and Holkar, and we had not half the debt. This debt still oppresses us, and the increase of our expenses with our extended dominions leaves our revenue rather inadequate to our charges, even in a time of peace, reckoning, as we ought in all reason to do, the disbursements on account of the territory at home. This state of our finances occasioned our greatest alarm at the commencement and early operations of the Nepaul War. We, indeed, distinguished between a justifiable war and a necessary one. We had no doubt that Nepaul had given ample cause of offence; but we thought that it might have been sufficient to repel and punish its aggressions without a formal general war. The powers of Hindostan not considering the transgression or violation of boundaries — things frequent among them — as engaging the honour of the State that receives such injury to have recourse to solemn war. But this consideration was greatly strengthened by the effects still fresh in our recollection, and still fresh in every day's experience of Indian war, upon our finances.

Your Lordship has indeed managed well in providing the supplies for the Nepaul War; but, according to the probable estimates which were formed here at the time, if that war had continued a year or two longer, it would have made a heavy addition to our territorial debt. This was what our habitual feelings led us to contemplate with dread. Not, I hope, that we were indifferent to the consideration of national honour; but because the Company appeared to be absolutely destitute of resources to maintain a war of any magnitude. Our revenue, which, in time of peace, could hardly be brought to equal our expenditure, seemed incapable of any material augmentation. The separation made at the last renewal of the Charter between the political and commercial funds of the Company rendered the latter no longer liable to be engaged for the payment of new debts contracted on account of the territory, nor indeed could the commerce of the Company possibly sustain such a responsibility; and as, without the aid of the commercial credit of the Company, it would probably be impracticable to raise new loans of any great extent; or, if it were, the revenue could not meet the additional load of interest to be thus incurred, the

prospect then presented by any war occasioning large extraordinary expenditure was simply this, that application must be made to Parliament to make provision for such expenditure, and it need not be stated to your Lordship that nothing could be more unpalatable to the people of England, especially after the unexampled efforts and exhaustion of long European warfare, than to become subject to taxation for defraying the charge of Indian quarrels; that, in short, nothing could place the continuance of the Company's system and the interests of a Governor-General in a more critical state. These were the views under which we acted in the end of the year 1815, no doubt in the apprehension that a war against a hardy race in a difficult country, not promising in its commencement, might draw out to considerable length, and so, perhaps, encourage the hostility of other powers; but, at any rate, from its duration alone, achieve a conquest upon our finances, not to be recovered, or compensated even, by the victory of our arms.

I am aware that your Lordship might conceive our Indian Government to be so politically circumstanced with the Native Powers of Hindostan as to be under the necessity of superseding attention to such reasoning, even if just, and to be imperiously called upon by existing circumstances to have recourse to arms. I am not presuming to enter into that question, nor was it then before us. My object is to show that, in the part I took respecting the war with Nepaul, I was influenced by public and established principles; and I can assure your Lordship that, as far as I know, the general sense of the Directorial body upon the subject of Indian war is in unison with those principles. Indeed, the contest with Nepaul has ended more happily and with less injury to our finances than we expected; but yet I hope I may be pardoned, if, from regard to what I conceive to be the true interest of the Company, and I am sure from no ill-will to your Lordship, I take this occasion to repeat my abiding conviction of the general truth of the reasoning above stated respecting the consequences to be apprehended to the Company, and the existing Indian system, from any extensive Indian war. The difficult dilemma in which such a consideration may place the Indian Government is obvious and distress-

ing; but the danger from a defect of resources is not the less real. In fact, former wars have rapidly carried the Company to the extent of their means, and as, even with the greatest care to guard against quarrels, it is possible that hostility may at some time be forced upon us, our safety absolutely requires that our peace expenditure should be brought considerably within our income. I regret to have trespassed upon your Lordship so long. My motive is all the apology I can plead. I trust the main object I have in view is the welfare of the Company's affairs and of our Indian Empire. In whatever hands the Government of it may be placed, I shall think it my duty to support those measures which appear to me calculated for its benefit. I do not hold it allowable to oppose a measure which I deem good in order to oppose the man whose measure it is; and, on the like principle, instead of pursuing a conduct directed by personal opposition, it is my duty to wish, and, unsolicitous lest my motive should be mistaken, nor meaning to compromise my right of a free exercise of opinion on all occasions, I add that I do wish the Government of India may flourish in your Lordship's hands.

Having thus finished the business of explanation, I ought also, perhaps, to close my letter, not using it to any other purpose than that which your Lordship's politeness has opened to me; but, as you have been pleased to advert to the idea of establishing native schools, I am willing to persuade myself that you will extend your indulgence to me in touching on that interesting subject. After seeing the patronage you have afforded to the plan instituted in the district of Hooghly for the education of the native children, I cannot doubt that the communication your Lordship once thought of favouring me with, would have been very gratifying: neither can I deny myself the pleasure of believing that, as far as prudential considerations may permit you to go, the improvement of the intellectual and moral state of the natives will find in you a real friend. This question viewed in its largest extent is, no doubt, one of great delicacy as well as of great importance; but respecting the instruction of the Hindoos in such things as do not militate against their religious system, there is less difficulty, and every acquisition of useful know-

ledge, even a more general initiation into the elements of their own learning, would serve to open their minds and dispose them to further cultivation.

Early in the year 1818 Lord Hastings wrote to Grant a letter, which was evidently a reply to the above; but the latter did not desire to continue the correspondence just at that time. When his Lordship's letter was received, discussions in the India House on his policy were impending, and Grant did not think it seemly to write to him privately and confidentially, while he might, at the same time, be obliged publicly to oppose his policy. "A governing principle," he remarked in a letter of September, 1816, "in any intercourse of mine with you, I have intended to be that of fair dealing, and it might seem hardly acting up to this principle if I were to write without adverting to such subjects." When the discussions were over, he felt at liberty to address his Lordship again.

Charles Grant to the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings.

LONDON, 11*th September* 1819.

Of the two questions to which I wish particularly to allude, suffer me now, my Lord, to say a few words. To the vote of thanks for your military achievements against the Pindarees and the Mahratta States, when I found that it involved no approbation of the principle of extending our dominions, I gave my ready assent, both in the Court of Directors and in the Court of Proprietors. In the latter it was only the line of argument adopted by some other speakers, unnecessarily and injudiciously, as I thought, which expressly advocated the principle of extending our conquests, that obliged me, in consistency, to maintain the opinions I had, as often as occasion required, before given on that subject, and, as it happened, had stated to your Lordship early in 1817, when I was little aware of the questions to which they were afterwards

to be applied. The proposition for a grant of money I opposed chiefly on a general principle to which my mind had long before been led. It was an opposition on public grounds, which must have been equally pleaded against any such grant whoever might have been the object of it. . . . Although I have certainly expressed apprehensions of the consequences which the very great extension of our Indian Empire may ultimately produce, yet I am far from desiring to see any of those apprehensions justified by events. I most sincerely wish to the vast regions now subject to our authority all the tranquillity and happiness which your Lordship can anticipate. I am quite satisfied that, if we can maintain our possessions in peace, the people will enjoy under our rule a greater measure of security and prosperity than they would under any Government of their own. I wish to believe that this may continue to be the lot of at least a large portion of the many myriads who now constitute the population of British India. And the prospect of gradual improvement under the influence of British auspices in so important and peculiar a division of the human race is indeed delightful. In whatever else I may have the misfortune to hold opinions different from your Lordship, I most cordially agree in your views of ameliorating the moral and intellectual state of that people. In this respect a great field of the truest glory still remains to be cultivated; and, gradual as the work must be, I heartily wish it may fall to your Lordship's lot to make large advances in it. . . .

I am happy to see that you enter with so much interest and just discrimination into the great subject of education, and that it is so much an object of attention both to Lady Hastings and yourself. The example and the patronage thus afforded cannot fail to produce beneficial effects; and, if through the salutary application of your Lordship's fair influence, the use of little elementary treatises on moral duties could be gradually introduced into the native village schools, even of our more ancient possessions only, a prodigious benefit would at once be conferred on the people, without at all agitating the question of religion. One great merit of this plan is, that it merely improves or supplies a defect in a Hindoo institution, and it is a thing so unexception-

able in itself, so much within the just exercise of the influence of a beneficent Government by personal recommendation, if not by the forms of office, that I fondly hope your Lordship will find no difficulty in largely promoting it; and if the important and happy, though simple, idea of adding systematically to the present scanty instruction of the Hindoo village schools easy lessons in the principles and duties of morality were generally adopted, this might of itself gradually ameliorate the mass of the people, and prepare them to receive more readily the further lights of European education and knowledge. . . .

Charles Grant to the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings.

LONDON, 15*th January* 1822.

On my return lately to this metropolis I heard that an act of resignation having been presented here on the part of your Lordship, a successor was to be provided for the Government of India. May I be permitted, in this the last letter I shall probably have the honour of addressing you, to say that I regret this change? I mean no disrespect to the person who shall succeed you, whoever he may be, nor do I mean to disavow any part of that system of Indian policy which, from an early period, I may have held, unimportant as it may be to everybody except myself; but I mean distinctly this, that when, as far as I can judge, I see the internal affairs of our Eastern Empire, on the whole, ably and vigilantly administered, and when I see, above all, a sincere desire on the part of the Governor-General to respect and promote the interest of true religion, and to introduce and diffuse, with due regard to prudence, the vast benefit of moral instruction among the many millions of natives now become the subjects of British rule, I am averse to change. I wish not the progress of so noble a course to be hazarded or interrupted. The moral amelioration of so large a portion of the human species may surely be regarded as one of the greatest designs of Providence in placing such a distant region under the care of an enlightened nation. This doctrine, indeed, has among our authorities in Eastern affairs been hitherto but very

partially and imperfectly recognised. Your Lordship, I think, has been almost the first person in eminent station who has practically acted upon it. Certainly the first who adopted the happy thought of grafting moral instruction upon the native institutions, or rather of improving, without violating, those institutions, and making them be themselves the instruments of their own refinement, and conveying the light of moral truth to the people. This is a grand design, and I am concerned that your Lordship is not to continue to foster and promote it. Not that I would despair of the future; but because I would wish no risk to be incurred of impeding or disturbing the march of so good a work. In reference to this point, may I without offence, take the liberty to observe further that it might prove a guard and protection against any such unfortunate result, if your Lordship were to leave upon the records, in more ample terms than have yet reached us, a strong recommendation of the plan you are pursuing with justificatory reasons for its adoption, and a defence against the objections which prejudice or fear may in any quarter be led to raise in opposition to it? Such a testamentary document would be a lasting honour to your Lordship's name.

Grant's long public career was now rapidly drawing to an end. We do not think that a more striking close to our account of it could be given than the publication of the following paper, which proves how consistent he remained to his principles even to the end. It will also show the inflexible honesty of his character and the unimpeachable purity of his motives. It has been seen how coldly he contemplated the military achievements of Lord Hastings, and yet how warmly he recognised his ideas about education and other features of his home policy. This incident plainly exhibits Grant's fidelity to his views, which could not be shaken even by an appeal from Royalty itself. He had taken part in the debates, and the line of argument which he had adopted was very much what we have indicated. He disapproved of the extension of British

territory in India, and doubted the policy of the power of Britain being made paramount in that country. He prophesied that this course would inevitably lead to future warfare, and that this country would be unable to govern the newly acquired territories solely by a handful of foreigners. He disliked the system of subsidiary treaties. He believed that the whole policy would lead to the destruction of the Company and the downfall of British rule.

"In the progress of events," he had remarked, during the Mahratta war, "supposing war to be prolonged, and the expense to be insupportable by the Company, application must be made to Parliament. The nation will supersede the Company. With the Company will go the system of their Civil and Military Services; and with it all the high qualities, the public spirit, the honourable cause of exertion, to which our progress and elevation in India are owing."

Entertaining these sentiments, Grant could honestly appeal to what he had already stated as proof that he was not acting inconsistently in resisting a grant of money to a statesman whose military policy he condemned, while he approved of many portions of his civil policy. The interview, to the account of which we now invite the attention of the reader, was held only two months before his death; and he thus left behind him a kind of political bequest, showing that nothing could persuade him to deviate from the strict observance of the course which most recommended itself to his conscience and to his sense of honour.

Conversation with Lord Bexley.

26th August 1823.

Last night I received a note from Lord Bexley requesting I would call upon him, if convenient, or allow him to come to me. I appointed to wait upon

him at two o'clock to-day. He began by saying that, perhaps, the subject on which he wished to speak to me was one he had no right to interfere in; but he would request my indulgence, as he was so circumstanced that he could not avoid taking the liberty of applying to me. He referred to the proposition which he understood was to be brought forward in the Court of Directors for a grant of money to Lord Hastings. He was very desirous that I might be able to view that proposition favourably. Lord Hastings had rendered great public services, and his friends thought they should be rewarded. His Majesty was very anxious for the success of the measure, and had desired him to speak to me in his name on the subject. After a short pause, and the indication of some feeling on my part, I said that I trusted my sense of duty towards his Majesty, his office, and his person would not be questioned, that I had been steady through life to that principle, it would make me happy to be able to give any proof of it to his Majesty, and distress me if on any occasion I could not come up to his wishes. That I certainly entertained no hostility towards Lord Hastings. I rather was well inclined towards him. I thought he had done various things well, though I did not approve of his foreign policy—in particular he had shown a very laudable concern for the moral improvement of the natives, and the suppression of the unnatural cruelties of their superstition. In these respects he was entitled to praise, and I should act on the approaching occasion purely on public principles, and a commanding sense of duty. That with respect to the intended motion I did not know what the tenor of it was to be. If it were merely to grant a sum of money to Lord Hastings on the score of his exigent situation, that was one view of the measure, and the easiest, as free of various difficulties which would attend the proposal of a grant on the ground of public services. But I supposed that this last was the footing on which it would be placed, and that it was in effect concluded by what had before passed. For when the former grant to him was some years ago brought forward I had felt myself obliged to object to it on account of the system of foreign policy, that is of extension by

conquest, which Lord Hastings had pursued. My opposition had been publicly stated and recorded. I was therefore sound in consistency, still holding the same views of that policy, to decline acquiescing in the grant now intended. I had no option. I had indeed opposed the former grant upon another ground also, namely, that it was time enough to remunerate a Governor-General when he closed his services.

It had, indeed, been agreed in defence of Lord Hastings that he had not extended conquest, that his object was to put down the ravages of a lawless banditti, and the fall of certain territory under the power of the Company in the prosecution of its legitimate object, was an incidental, not a designed, consequence. But unfortunately for this plea there were papers in the India House which showed that the scheme of bringing the remaining powers of Hindostan under the control of the Company's Government had been entertained by Lord Hastings early after his arrival in India, and before any war had broken out. As a Director, I had a duty to perform, to act honestly according to my judgment; and, if I were to forego this rule of conduct, I should make a sacrifice of character. I should, indeed, still have a vote, but would lose influence.

Lord Bexley had said early that he was not apprised of the exact nature of the intended motion, and thought that it might be modified. I expressed my apprehension that the persons who were bringing the measure forward would insist on putting it on the ground of services, and indeed it was not easy to place a public grant on any other footing; and here there would be a great difference between the advocates for a grant and those who had objections to it. He said that, if a motion even for services were worded generally, it might be acquiesced in by those who did not approve of all Lord Hastings' measures. I allowed that an acquiescence in such a motion would sink the point in difference, and would be an approbation so general as to cover anything.

When I was speaking of my obligation to be consistent and to act according to my sense of duty, he said that I could not be asked to go in opposition to

what I thought right, and all that could be proposed was that I should act as favourably as would consist with my own conviction. In the course of the conversation Lord Bexley pulled out of his pocket a letter addressed to him by his Majesty, beginning, "The King, with his best regards to Lord Bexley, desires he will speak to his friend Mr Grant respecting the measure about to be brought forward in favour of Lord Hastings." This note was given me to read. It spoke highly of the merits and services of Lord Hastings, the undoubted propriety of making him the proposed grant, his Majesty's great regard and affection for him and the interest he took in this matter. I hardly think the note was in his Majesty's own handwriting, though it looked like it, and it was signed G.R.

I said I felt myself unhappy in not being able to give all the evidence I could wish of the duty I cherished to his Majesty; but I had only the alternative of acting in this case according to my sense of duty.[1]

[1] We cannot ascertain to what debate reference was made in the above interview. A grant of money was voted to Lord Hastings in June 1819.

CHAPTER XVIII

DOMESTIC LIFE AND EVENTS

A.D. 1812 TO 1820

Private financial difficulties—Purchase of Waternish—"The hurries" of Parliamentary life—Necessity for economy—House taken for Mrs Grant and family in Herefordshire—Pencraig—Marriage of Charemile with Samuel March Phillipps—John Bowdler—Visit to the Highlands for the election—Letter to his wife—Charles's speech—Death of David Brown—Letter to Mrs Mackenzie—Birth of a grandson—Death of Thomas Raikes—Death of the little grandson—Also of Henry Thornton—Colquhoun's description of Grant's sons and daughters—Letter to Mrs Mackenzie on the death of Alexander Grant of Redcastle—Goes to Scotland by sea—Letter from Scotland to his wife—Description of his visit to Skye—Account of Waternish—House taken near Dartford for Mrs Grant and the daughters—Loneliness in London—Resignation of his seat in Parliament—Second visit to Waternish—His son Charles appointed Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—Charles's first speech in Parliament—Visit of Grant to his son at Phœnix Park—His son Robert's first public speech — Robert's subsequent career — Marriage of Catherine Sophia to Peter Grant of Redcastle—Father and son living together in Russell Square.

We now turn aside from the political events which occupied Grant's attention in order that consideration may be bestowed on his private life during the same period. He had, for some time, been harassed by his financial affairs, for his position entailed on him the necessity for a good deal of entertaining; and, besides his house in London, he had to keep up the estate which he had purchased in the Isle of Skye.

His frequent journeys to the Highlands for the purpose of visiting his relatives, connections, and constituents caused him no slight expense in those days of slow and tedious travelling in post-chaises or by mail; and, moreover, his share in the indigo factory at Gumalti was by no means remunerative. He frequently lamented his connection with it, and he would have been glad to part with it, if he had found a favourable opportunity and a willing purchaser. His long letters to the successive managers of this factory must have occasioned him a vast amount of labour in addition to his official correspondence. He was also exceedingly particular with regard to his household expenditure, for which he required an account from Mrs Grant, and he worried himself too much over these petty details, which evidently wearied her. Now and then she gently remonstrated with him on this subject.

"The fifty pounds arrived safely," she remarked on one occasion. "You could not suffer more from sending than I did, and do, being obliged to apply for it. Indeed, I think and talk so much of saving money that I feel the young people, and particularly the girls, who are always hearing of your vexations on the subject, and witnessing mine, will become miserly."

He had also been compelled to borrow the large sum of £20,000 on mortgage of the estate for the purchase of Waternish,[1] which transaction appears to have weighed heavily on his mind. He continually used expressions in his letters to his wife which indicate the growing weariness which he felt in his public duties. He never applied such phrases to his work at the India House, although he frequently chafed at the opposition which he encountered there;

[1] Called Vaternish in the maps. It is on the north-west coast of Skye.

but he regretted having entered Parliament, and the political exertions which it entailed. He groaned over "the hurries" of Parliamentary life, and longed to be rid of it altogether, though he bravely buckled to it again and again, when these thoughts occurred, for he considered it his duty to continue it for the sake of his family, and more especially of his two elder sons, who were now fairly embarked on their professional and political careers.

In order to economise he came in 1812 to the determination of taking a small country house, in which Mrs Grant and her daughters should reside during the greater part of the year, visiting London only in the spring. The cottage taken for this purpose was Pencraig at Goodrich, near Ross in Herefordshire, and most of the letters to her were addressed thither until 1814. The family arrived there on 25th June 1812, and it seems to have been a very lovely spot. During their stay at Pencraig, their second daughter, Charemile,[1] became engaged to be married to Samuel March Phillipps, a young barrister, who was an intimate friend of their sons. He was the second son of Mr March Phillipps, of Garendon in Leicestershire. Mr Babington wrote of him :—

"I have a sincere regard for him. There are also other members of the family, who will, I trust, strengthen and promote all that is good. His mother has of late shown the most promising signs of real piety, through the influence, under God, of one of her sons, who is a very excellent clergyman in this neighbourhood, and has married a wife like himself."

The young couple were married on 16th October 1812, and the union, which was heartily approved

[1] Charemile was a pet name formed by combining her names, Charity and Emilia.

on both sides, was a very happy one. Grant wrote to his sister as follows:—

"The young man is a contemporary, and long an intimate friend, of my sons, of a character, manners, and tastes similar to theirs, of very good ability, and likely to advance in his profession. There is at present no great wealth, but enough with so many other ingredients for happiness."

Writing to Mrs Grant, he said:—

"I return the two letters from the Henry Thorntons, both exceedingly good and friendly; but Mrs Henry's superlatively so—it breathes most uncommon affection in expression and language eminently happy. It is no small blessing to have such friends, and I hope Charemile will preserve them through life. I return also Bowdler's letter to Phillipps—a very favourable testimonial certainly for the latter, and from a good authority. Poor Bowdler, I do not like the idea of losing him."

We have not yet mentioned that brilliant young genius, John Bowdler, because his name has not hitherto occurred in Grant's correspondence. Had he lived, he would most probably have attained an eminent position in literature; but, like Kirke White, he had a very delicate constitution, and he died young, while his foot was only on the lower steps of the ladder of literary fame. Colquhoun said that he had been deeply attached to one of Grant's daughters, and the affectionate reference to him in the above letter confirms this assertion. This daughter was Sophia, who afterwards married her cousin Redcastle. It was to her he addressed the verses quoted by Colquhoun, beginning:—

"Thine are youth and beauty now,
  Friends and lovers round thee bending,
Hope sits smiling on thy brow,
  Hope with joy her triumph blending;

Thy blue eye is speaking pleasure,
Gladness bids thy bosom swell.
Is then life so rich a treasure?
Dearest maiden, use it well."[1]

After Charemile's wedding Grant was obliged to go to the North for the election then taking place. On his way he wrote to his wife:—

"I look forward to this journey with no pleasure, and think it would have been more suitable to me under all circumstances to have been retired from this bustle."

He met his son Charles in the North, and they were both returned for their respective constituencies. He thus announced the result to Mrs Grant on 7th November:—

"Yesterday the election took place with a respectable attendance and passed unanimously. The entertainment and evening, though there were a hundred guests, were gone through very amicably without excess or indecorum, at least where I sat. Externally all has indeed been easy, and creditable, and comfortable; but otherwise, within there has been much of a tarnishing nature and a consequent sense of guilt. These honours, in my case at least, though they cost no money, unless the unavoidable expenses of travelling and company, are not cheap in a mental view, and indeed are attended with much vanity and vexation of spirit, so that, if I live to be divested of them, I hope I shall feel lighter, and better disposed to subsist in a purer air and a quieter scene. . . . Charles's election went off very pleasantly, and also the dinner. He made a speech to his electors of considerable extent and ability. He delivered it easily and fluently, and it is printed in the *Inverness Journal* almost word for word from his own recollection, for he had not penned any of it before he spoke it. This last effort satisfies me more of his ability as a speaker,

[1] *William Wilberforce: His Friends and Times*, by J. C. Colquhoun. Second Edition, pp. 159, 316. Longmans, 1867.

but still the degree of success in the House of Commons to which he may attain, is another question ; and, even if he should attain a rank there, what the beneficial consequences may be to his views in life is yet another question quite different. But let us recommend him and all his interests to God. He and I have lived together very comfortably at Inverness. His taste and, I trust, his principles indispose him to court popularity here by lending himself to the common style of manners in company or in sentiments and conversation, and he seems, therefore, to be rather an object of respect and sober esteem than of affection among the society here, particularly to the gentlemen ; but I rejoice that he makes no essential sacrifice to purchase popularity."

It was during this election and his necessary absence on account of it, that the proceedings at the India House took place, which have already been mentioned. In announcing his intended return to London, he wrote :—

"After a short stay in Edinburgh, I proceed with all expedition to London, where I look for care, and trouble, and agitation from the late execrable measures of the Court of Directors in Indian affairs."

On arrival in town he sent a letter to Mrs Grant from the House of Commons, of which the following is the postscript :—

"Did I tell you that our friend, the Rev. D. Brown, of Bengal, was gone? He died in June. Poor Martyn has been dangerously ill in Persia."

He was feeling anxious for his wife's return as the year drew to its close, and wrote :—

"We shall be disappointed here at your putting off your journey till Monday. I am better. Men can do only what God permits. They are a sword in His hand. It is wonderful it has not been drawn

against me oftener. 'Let us pray.' That is our universal resource."

With the hopes of his family returning to town, he remarked:—

"It is a discomfort to have the family separated, but there has been no help. If it should please God to put an end to the French tyranny, the taxes will probably be reduced, and we may have a return of our establishment in town with such abatements as may still be requisite."

The next year was, as we have seen, a very eventful one, in consequence of the immense labour imposed on Grant by the renewal of the East India Company's Charter. It is interesting to notice the spirit in which he entered into these engrossing occupations.

Charles Grant to Mrs Mackenzie.

LONDON, 13*th February* 1813.

I am glad to find your health tolerable; my own keeps surprisingly good. . . . I feel the distraction of public business, and know it to be a serious evil in reference to the great concern of eternity. . . . The lengthening out of my days, and the mercies with which they have been filled, may well excite my gratitude; but, alas! how little gratitude has there been in my character.

Grant was much gratified at the birth of a grandson, towards whom he felt very much drawn, as will be observed from the following note:—

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

INDIA HOUSE, *Wednesday afternoon*, 29*th September.*

I have your Pencraig despatch of Monday, and am glad to find that things there were well. Several

notes I have lately had from Garendon also. Our part of that society were doing well. Charemile has sent in great haste to-day for more "tops and bottoms," the little fellow in a lively fit having overset the basin in which most of that provision was.

The last letter he wrote to his wife that year was in a lower key.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

INDIA HOUSE, 31*st December* 1813.

I trust it will please our good God to give us to see the close of this year with only mercies and blessings to review and to acknowledge; and that we may show ourselves grateful for our distinguished, and, in my case, I am sure, undeserved lot. It is not thus with all our connections. I find my old attached friend, Mr Raikes, resigned his breath two days ago. This has indeed been long expected, and the regret due for him has been much softened during his tedious decline. Still, who can think of the great change, the final dissolution of a long and intimate friendship, without being tenderly affected?

Grant must have deeply felt the loss of one with whom he had been so long in correspondence, and who had helped so much in his efforts regarding a Mission to Bengal by interesting in it both William Wilberforce and the Bishop of London. Raikes had, in an unostentatious fashion, rendered essential services to the State in financial matters.

Mr and Mrs Grant in January 1814 were much distressed by the death of their first grandchild—the dear little fellow who had playfully upset the basin containing his rusks. This and other trials were mentioned in a letter to his sister:—

"I have had little time to write to you on the losses and bereavements in the circle of our family. . . . We

are in great danger, especially myself, who have so much to do with the business of the world, of losing the impression of these things before they have done their work. But true it is that God speaks by them in very solemn language, and that unimproved chastisements are sad articles of account. To the loss of our own delightful child, young Phillipps, is added that of two of Redcastle's."

In January 1815, Grant felt acutely the loss of his intimate friend, Henry Thornton, who appeared to have been prematurely taken away in the midst of his useful career. Wilberforce, who was a true fellow-mourner, and who, being absent at the time, had rapidly posted to town, in the hopes of seeing his beloved colleague once more, wrote:

"Inquired at Palace Yard, and heard that he had expired the preceding evening. Went on to Kensington Gore, where I found his family and sweet Mrs Grant."[1]

Writing to his sister, Grant said:—

"We have sustained an irreparable loss in the death of our most valuable friend, H. Thornton, who, for the powers of his mind, for the excellence of his Christian conduct in all the relations of life, in his family, in business, in society, in Parliament, in public spirit, and extensive benevolence, has hardly left an equal behind him. . . . Mrs Grant and Sibylla are now with the bereaved family."

Henry Thornton was soon followed by his loving wife, and, as Grant wrote to his sister, they deeply felt the loss of "one of our best and most attached friends." Mrs Grant was with her to the very last. While the memory of the happy days at Clapham still linger in our minds, it will be well to quote here the pleasant account which Colquhoun has given of

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iv. p. 229.

the younger members of the Grant family, as we have already quoted his description of their mother.

"The children in their turn," he wrote, "felt for the hostess of Battersea Rise much of the clinging affection she entertained for Mrs Grant. When the daughters were weary of London excitement, they resorted for rest to this second home; and when the sons, over-worked at Cambridge, or fatigued in public life, sought to recruit their strength, they knew that a cordial welcome awaited them in the house at Battersea Rise. Thus, while they themselves benefited, they brought the attractions of their gifts, and these were manifold. For if the sensibility which they inherited was for the rough work of life a hindrance, it added to social intercourse an inexpressible charm. Nursed, as they had been, in a home atmosphere, where every sentiment was refined, they shrank, with an almost morbid recoil, from the contact of ordinary minds, but they drew the more closely to that charmed circle at Battersea Rise, in which intellect and taste were found combined. Of one of the daughters, Mrs Thornton used to say that her conversation was a more reviving cordial than a tonic spring. She exercised over the young, who entered her society, a witchery of indescribable power, and in her Madame de Stael saw the realisation of that poetical vision which was embodied in the character of Corinne."[1]

From April 1815 to the same month in the following year, Grant again occupied the Chair at the India House, which honour brought with it the usual inconveniences and pressure of work. He was looking forward, however, to freedom from this, and to another trip to the Highlands for intercourse with his constituents and relatives. "I live in the midst of hurries," he wrote to his sister on 15th January 1816, "but look to a little calm three months hence, if I am spared so long. I am astonished at all the

[1] Colquhoun's *William Wilberforce: His Friends and His Times*, p. 314.

goodness of God." On 1st June he acknowledges a letter from his brother-in-law, informing him of the serious illness of Colonel Alexander Grant, who had succeeded his cousin James in possession of the estate of Redcastle. He added:—"I have thoughts of visiting the North this summer, and of going to Skye, my concerns there requiring my inspection." Redcastle died in the following month, and this afforded an additional reason for his visiting Scotland. He wrote as follows to his sister:—

Charles Grant to Mrs Mackenzie.

LONDON, *23rd July* 1816.

I did not certainly expect the event that has taken place at Redcastle. It has pleased the Sovereign Disposer to determine otherwise, and we are left to mourn another relative. . . . Pray for the effectual operation of the Spirit of God that at length I may be brought into a waiting posture, and see the happiness of living above the world. . . . How striking that you and I have survived all the Shewglie family (except the Colonel), and so many of the heads of the Lochletter! I propose going to the North soon, with no great appetite for the usual intercourses of it, and no certainty now as to the days of my appointed time. May I be enabled to go in a pilgrim spirit, even where the most of kindness is to be expected and shown by me.

In this spirit Grant undertook his journey to the Highlands. On this occasion he went by sea, and he had such a rough and tempestuous voyage that it vividly recalled to his remembrance the experiences of his voyages to and from India. He left the ship at Peterhead, and continued his journey by land. Writing to his wife on 29th August, he said:—

"I have suffered much in this voyage. It has been far from answering the ends of ease and expedition,

and the little money it has saved is dearly purchased. We have had something of the inconveniences of an Indian voyage without its comforts."

The next letter is dated from Redcastle, a place which had been of much interest to him since his cousin had bought it, and with which he was ere long to be more intimately connected.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

REDCASTLE, *8th September* 1816.

I came here last evening. The view of the place presented many recollections—the actual state of its inhabitants excited very distressing feelings. Mrs Grant (Colonel Alexander Grant's widow) was able to see me before the night closed. She is the subject of grief and sorrow, but is apparently humble and submissive. Religion seems to be the great medium through which she views her dispensation. . . . Her children form a fine group—six sons, besides William, who is absent, and one daughter, who looks very amiable. The place is much improved, but I fear must be given up for a time. Peter, the eldest son, is much more of a man and of a Christian than I had reckoned on, but he is inexperienced and sanguine.

After visiting Glenmoriston and other places, Grant went on to Skye. On the way he inspected some of the works on the Caledonian Canal, which were then approaching completion, and in which he took the liveliest interest. The next letter describes what appears to have been his first visit to Waternish.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

CORRICHATTAN IN SKYE, *8th October* 1816.

Yesterday morning Mr Mackinnon of this place obligingly brought his pinnace to Loch Houra Head.

We left that place at half-past nine in the morning, with a fair wind and the finest day I have seen since I have been in the North, or, indeed, for some months past. In two hours and a half we got into the Sound that divides Skye from the mainland, and might in less than an hour more have landed on the island ; but, the day being so remarkably fine, and wind and tide favourable, Mr Mackinnon proposed that, instead of disembarking immediately and performing the journey of eight miles to his house, for which however, he had a gig in waiting, we should continue our sea voyage quite to his residence, by which we should see a great part of the coast of Skye on the one hand, and the counties of Glenelg, Lochalsh, and Lochcarron on the other. I put myself under his guidance, and we had a delightful sail between those shores, seeing vessels of various descriptions, passing in view of the islands of Rasay and Scalpa, and before five landing safely at this place. After all that I had heard from everybody in and about Inverness of the formidableness of a visit hither, it was beyond all reasonable hope that I should have had as fine a day, as favourable a wind and tide, as excellent a boat and seamanship, as ever were seen in this oceanic country. I desire gratefully to see the good hand of God in all this, to praise Him for it, and not to forget all His benefits. By all that I have yet seen of Skye my ideas of its general importance and value are raised. There is a vast capability of improvement in this part of it, and the spirit of improvement has commenced, though there is yet much to struggle with. There is far more industry and commerce here than on some of the opposite coasts of the mainland. I propose visiting Scalpa to-day, Rasay to-morrow, Portree Thursday, and Lyndale Friday. The last is in the neighbourhood of Waternish, where my chief operations lie, and I look for serious concern there. I hear the most deplorable accounts of the state of the tenantry all over Skye. Macleod has reduced his rents 25 *per cent.* I fear I must do more, and the question is, whether a reduced rent can be realised. I should think little of this, if we could afford to do without the rent, because the property might answer, but in our circumstances the case is very depressing. I am well, though not without some incommodities from continual changes,

and increasing weakness which I cannot hide from myself. Could I have seen my children settled comfortably, or in the way of being so, I could more easily withdraw my thoughts and cares from the world.

After a few days' sojourn at Waternish and other places, he returned to the mainland, and wrote thence once more.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

GLENGARRY HOUSE, 28*th October* 1816.

I am again in perfect safety on the mainland of Scotland, and a guest at this mansion for the present night. Everywhere there has been much hospitality and something interesting. It is matter of regret I did not visit the island ten years ago, when we resided in the Aird. Although almost too late now, I have got some new ideas and informations, which, with a better memory and more strength and vigour, might be turned to account. Though rather impatient on account of the lateness of the season and increasing badness of the weather to quit the island, I left it and the people of it not without regret.

During his absence, Mrs Grant, with several members of the family, had been at Brighton, before moving to Fawkham near Dartford, where a small house had been taken for them. Writing on 20th November from Foy, he said:—

"The season is so far advanced that I fear the proper time of commencing a residence at Fawkham is already rather past, and that an entrance into that humble habitation after winter has begun, will be attended with inconveniences."

He himself still lingered in Scotland, dreading to return to the troubles and trials that awaited him in London.

"I have a sort of dread," he wrote, "of returning to

a scene where my troubles must be again my constant visitors. I see it my duty, the duty to which I am specially called, to yield all to God, to submit unfeignedly to His will in all the privations He inflicts."

He was evidently reluctant to face the lonely life he had before him, for he adds, as if half wishing that his economical ideas might fail:—

"I have heard that you are proceeding to Fawkham. I expect to lead the same bachelor life in London as I have been doing in the North, unless when I can go down to you."

On 15th July, 1818, Grant proceeded to Waternish. "The whole scene," he wrote, "is depressing; but some good is likely to be done to the people. This is a consoling circumstance." On the day on which he was writing these words, 3rd August, his son Charles was appointed Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, then Earl Talbot. This will be a convenient juncture to give a brief account of the Parliamentary career and services both of him and of his brother Robert. It will be remembered that Charles was elected Member for the Inverness Burghs in 1811, and that in Parliament he materially assisted his father in the discussion regarding the renewal of the East India Company's Charter. He had by this time become an eloquent and polished orator, and not many months passed before he had gained the ear of the House of Commons. His first speech in that distinguished, but rather fastidious, assembly was a decided success. It was delivered on 13th July 1812, and it will be interesting to read his father's account of it, who listened to it with anxious parental emotion.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

14th July 1812.

The anxiety under which I wrote yesterday arose

from Charles's intended appearance in the House last night. It was a particular crisis in his life. Failure might not only quite sink his spirits, but blight all his prospects in public life; and how wide the disappointment would extend, I need not say. I therefore endeavoured to make the case a matter of prayer, with due submission; and what sweetens the issue to me is that the unbounded goodness of God has condescended to carry him through with honour and credit. The *Morning Post* gives the best report of his speech, but does not do full justice to the matter, and cannot at all convey an idea of the manner, which was very good and interesting and Parliamentary, insomuch that there was a very general sensation of satisfaction and approbation. Our particular friends, Wilberforce, Thornton, Babington, and Stephen were all well pleased, and I had compliments paid me by at least thirty members, among whom were Lord Castlereagh, Canning, and the Speaker, most of whom came to where I was in the House purposely to congratulate me. Now, let me entreat you all, as I would impress it upon myself, to see the hand of God in this matter. This thought, though it tends to repress vainglory and the giddiness of natural joy, will only exalt and sanctify our gratification, and may be of very important use in looking at our recent trials. The danger I apprehended from miscarriage and depression has been avoided; but we, and Charles especially, are exposed to another danger—that of being exalted, and of his not answering after all the expectations now entertained of him. We have only to go on according to this beginning, and commit him and his progress to a good God, and pray habitually that he may devote whatever talents God has given him to His service and glory. . . . I wish all of us to be more convinced of this truth, that those who follow Christ most closely have often the best even of the present world, witness Wilberforce, Thornton, and Babington, and how infinite is the difference for Eternity.

Charles's reputation as a speaker did not diminish as time went on. Wilberforce, who was no mean judge on the subject, once described a speech of his

as beautiful, though too elaborate; but his addresses seem to have been sweeter and more engaging at social and religious gatherings than on the hustings or in the House.

Soon after he had received the appointment of Chief Secretary, his father paid him a visit in Dublin, and the letters of the latter describing it are very charming and naive.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

PHŒNIX PARK, 25*th September* 1818.

I reached Dublin last Tuesday, and came next day here, where I have resided since. You know that it is the country residence of the Chief Secretary. It is grandly situated in the midst of a magnificent park seven miles in circumference, with all the appendages of a villa of high order. Charles, Robert, and myself, with a few servants are all the inmates. The first goes to his office in town every morning. He is here a great public officer—is acting in the eye of the country, particularly the Irish people, and probably his fate as a public man is involved in his conduct in his present station. . . . I am well pleased with all I have hitherto seen, and particularly at being summoned to prayers every morning at nine. I think he carries himself with vigour and good sense; but indeed he will want all his firmness and the good points of his character for the occurrences that may happen here. This, with the consideration of the uncertainties to which the political element is liable, may keep his friends as well as himself sober. I trust he will have but one grand object, the performance of his duty, and that in this he will be helped by a gracious God.

Grant thoroughly enjoyed his brief sojourn with his son in Phœnix Park. His daughters came, from time to time, to stay with their brother and grace his house with their presence. Charles afterwards became President of the Board of Control, which office he

occupied from December 1830 to July 1834. He was Colonial Secretary in Lord Melbourne's second administration from 1835 to 1839, when he resigned. He was created a peer in May 1835, with the title of Baron Glenelg. He died at Cannes in 1866, and was buried at Hitcham in Suffolk.

Robert, the second son, was a rather more eloquent orator than his brother, especially at religious meetings. As we have given the father's account of his eldest son's first oratorical effort in Parliament, it will be interesting to read his account of the first speech which he heard Robert deliver. It was at a meeting for the Bible Society in the same year.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

House of Commons, 17*th December* 1812.

There was a very numerous meeting at Willis's Rooms on Thursday to form an Auxiliary Bible Society for Westminster, under the auspices of the royal Dukes, and Lord Castlereagh opened the business. I got there after three o'clock—the crowd uncommon. I could get but little beyond the door. The speaker then on his feet having ceased, another arose, and who should it be but Robert? There was a general hush. I was motionless. I listened, saw his action and gestures, heard emphatic sentences, but the lower tones of his voice I could not hear, nor collect even the exact connection of his discourse, which was pretty long. I asked Henry Thornton about it afterwards, who said it was the speech of most thought and reflection delivered then, but his voice was not so strong and sonorous as he expected. I dined afterwards with the Phillippses, as did Charles. Robert came in, agonized, thinking he had succeeded ill, as he acknowledged, from failure of voice. I yesterday asked Wilberforce's opinion. He was persuaded everybody was pleased with the speech, except Robert himself, but he thought it would be judged by the hearers that Robert had not gone to the extent of his powers.

Robert Grant seems to have diligently followed his profession as a barrister, being chiefly attached to the Western Circuit. He often pleaded in causes before the House of Lords. He sat in the House of Commons as Member for the Elgin Burghs from 1818 to 1826, when he was elected Member for the Inverness Burghs. In 1830 he became Member for Norwich, and was made a Privy Councillor. He was appointed Judge Advocate General in 1832, and Governor of Bombay in 1834. He held this responsible position for only four years, as he died in July, 1838, before his time of service had come to an end. He appears to have been a most excellent Governor. His fame with most people rests, however, on quite a different foundation. He was the author of several hymns, which are inserted in almost every hymnal, and are frequently sung during divine service. Two of the best known begin with these words :—

> " Saviour, when in dust to thee,
> Low we bend th' adoring knee " ;

and

> " O worship the King, all glorious above ;
> O gratefully sing His power and His love."

The brothers were very much attached to each other; and, during his later years, their father relied a good deal on their counsel and judgment.

The principal event in the year 1819 was the marriage of Grant's youngest daughter, Catherine Sophia, to Peter, the young laird of Redcastle, on 19th May. It will be remembered that, after the death of James Grant of Redcastle, his estate passed to his cousin and heir Colonel Alexander Grant, who died in 1816. Peter was Alexander Grant's heir, and, unhappily for him, he succeeded to the estate after it had fallen into a very encumbered condition. The endeavour to retrieve this state of

affairs occasioned Grant a good deal of labour and trouble. He received great assistance from his two elder sons; but it does not appear that he was successful in his efforts even to the time of his death. In fact, much of the correspondence of these last years was occupied with this subject, and one of his last letters was about it. He paid a second visit to his son at Dublin in the autumn of this year, but he did not remain there long. The following passage occurred in the only letter written to Mrs Grant on this occasion:—

19*th September* 1819.

Here I am on Irish ground. . . . The country is a great one, and full of political evils very difficult to be cured. May it please God to make one of our family the means of amelioration.

Though no longer a member of Parliament himself, Grant still took a deep interest in public affairs, and watched with careful scrutiny the Parliamentary and official labours of his sons. The following letter was written from their house in Russell Square, where Charles was living with him:—

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

RUSSELL SQUARE, 2*nd December* 1819.

Charles uses his book-room and the back drawing-room, where he is very comfortable and undisturbed; and he has the double advantage of being accommodated, and that without expense. He stood up to speak on Tuesday night, but another caught the Speaker's eye. He has not been unprepared; but occasion has not much favoured him. He is greatly worn by all he has to do and think of. Robert did not much intend speaking in these early days. To be sure I rather figured to myself that they were both to speak early in the Session; but certainly we cannot know that our wishes and views are the best.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CLOSING SCENE

A.D. 1821 TO 1823

Political newspaper attacks on Grant and his son at Inverness—Grant's discomposure thereat—Another visit to the Highlands in 1822—Opening of the Caledonian Canal—Death of Mrs Mackenzie—Visit to the Highlands in May 1823—Letters to Mrs Grant—Return journey—Feeling of weakness—Erroneous opinion of his medical attendant—Negotiations about the house near Dartford—Plans of his sons for their vacation—Attention of the doctor—Last letter to Mrs Grant—Her reply—Sudden decease of Charles Grant—Letter from Miss Parry to his son William—Letter of sympathy from William Wilberforce—His appreciation of Grant's character—Letter from George Udny—Udny appointed one of the executors—Resolution of the Court of Proprietors—Marble monument erected in St George's Church, Bloomsbury—Death of Mrs Grant—Account written by her daughter—Wilberforce's estimate of her character—Conclusion—The character and services of Charles Grant, the founder and father of missionary effort in the eighteenth century.

In the years 1821 and 1822 Grant experienced much anxiety and annoyance owing to political attacks against his son Charles and himself. We have seen how bitter and caustic were the remarks made soon after the Election of 1818, when he retired from the representation of the county, and his son was chosen to succeed him. The comments emanating from the *Inverness Journal* in the autumn of 1821 were peculiarly virulent. The writer of these articles had been in India, and had, since his return, purchased a small estate in the neighbourhood, by the name of which he was

generally known. These attacks were wisely ignored by both father and son, though the latter was insulted with the avowed purpose of making him accept a challenge to a duel; but the sting entered Grant's sensitive mind, and long lingered there. Referring to these attacks, he thus unburdened himself to Mrs Grant:—

"The thorny circumstances connected with Parliamentary interests have for these twenty years been a plague and a distraction to me. I am thus filled with the fruit of my own ways. I doubt I did not enter into that line of life with sufficient attention to motives and consequences. Now this man seems raised up as a rod—in himself most unworthy and unreasonable. He has filled five columns of his last paper chiefly about Charles and me, and I was sorely affected at first; but, upon cooler consideration, with some prayer, I have recovered myself pretty well, and do not see so much in what he has done."

In the year 1822 he left London in September, remaining in the North until November, when urgent duties demanded his presence in town. He had the pleasure of being present at the opening of the Caledonian Canal in October. He had taken the keenest interest in the progress of this grand engineering scheme, which, as Member for the county, he had done much to facilitate. "I propose," he wrote on 5th October 1822, "staying here to witness this interesting event, towards which I have been labouring these twenty years."[1]

In November he visited his sister Mrs Mackenzie, at the Manse in Knockbain, and had the sorrow to see her gradually sinking. She died on 1st December, after he had been obliged to leave Scotland for home.

[1] This great engineering work was begun by Telford in 1803, and the whole line was opened for shipping in 1823. A full descripion of the Canal is given in *The Life of Thomas Telford*, pp. 49-67. London, Payne & Foss, 1838.

During her long and trying illness she was carefully nursed by her daughters, and more particularly by her daughter Catherine, who had been in constant attendance on her. We feel a peculiar sadness as one who has been so prominent a figure in these pages disappears from our narrative. Brother and sister had been deeply attached to one another, and their correspondence shows that this attachment continued to the end. They were not long separated. Grant did not survive his sister many months; and as his last days were, we know, drawing near, it will be right to enter a little more into the details of his usual occupations than we have been able to do in the narrative of recent years. He went to Scotland again in May, returning in July 1823. He wrote to his wife from York, on 12th July, on his return journey, in very low spirits on account of her health.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

YORK, *12th July* 1823.

. . . I was sorry to leave you in a weak frame of body, and spirits rather low from the concurrence of several causes. You are, however, I trust, in the best hands, and will seek and find support in the best quarter, and find all things work for good. Among the "all things" are troubles and sorrows. Of these we must have our share, if we are dealt with as disciples of Christ. Hitherto, for many years, we have been wonderfully exempt. Sufferings we have, indeed, felt something of, but not such as have happened in many families known to us—not such as we often hear of. Ours have been rather more disappointments of good than bereavements of what it was given us to possess; but we are not to expect to close the scene without having deep waters to go through, perhaps as to the things of time, certainly as to those of eternity. Death and judgment are infinitely awful, infinitely momentous. I see a little, but too, too late, the mighty evil of not living in the habitual view and recollection

of these things. Such an habitual view would really wean from the world, the tempers, the pursuits, and the interests of the world, which, under a religious profession and an orthodox creed, may still possess the heart through life, and leave it without the oil requisite for meeting the Bridegroom. . . . My dear, this is not a time to sorrow for the crook in our worldly lot. We are on the verge of eternity, and undoubtedly our every day's first business is to prepare for our call. . . . We are surely now called to gird up the loins of our mind—not to be thrown down, or stumbled by small things; but to look onward to the great encounter we have to go through with the most formidable dangers.

The letters in August and September refer chiefly to the dilapidations in Pennice House, Dartford, which the family had taken this year, and were to quit at Michaelmas; but here and there expressions were employed, indicating failure of health and strength. On 22nd August he mentions feeling an oppression about the heart.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

RUSSELL SQUARE, *22nd August* 1823.

. . . These two days I have had nothing to complain of, beyond now and then a perceptible weakness as to intonation—I mean, sounding my voice strongly—that power is, I feel, impaired—my breathing seems weakened. At times also I have something like a slight oppression about the heart. . . . The bodily fabric must decay. The only wonder is, mine has been preserved so well so long. I feel too little of the thankfulness I ought for this and innumerable other distinguishing mercies. . . . I hope this continued wet weather does not interrupt your walks. Nothing, I conceive, can be better for you than moving about. . . . The advanced season of life brings peculiar duties—the chief that of preparing for our change. Oh, what a concern is this! The youngest of us, of our family I mean, should not delay. What have I suffered by

allowing the business of this life to engross me so much, and what is more, not being diligent in my retirement about the one grand concern. . . . Employed this day, rather necessarily, among papers of former times, living much among the dead!

On 27th August he told his wife that he had consulted Dr Pennington, his medical attendant, who had been with Henry Thornton in his last illness. It seems that he had at this time a clear premonitory warning, or rather happy foreboding, of his own approaching call.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

INDIA HOUSE, *27th August* 1823.

Persuaded from repeated observation that something was wrong in my chest, I last night wrote Pennington. He called this morning, and assured me that there was no complaint in the chest.

INDIA HOUSE, *9th September* 1823.

If the business of repairs (of Pennice House) is amicably adjusted, there will be no difficulty about our continuing; but a serious question for us is, whether we should agree for a year, because, if we continue for a whole year and are spared so long, we shall probably be as much at a loss next autumn as we are now, to find another place. It is true we might begin to look out earlier, but who will do this? We all act as if we were to continue in the present position for ever. I dined at Mr Parry's yesterday, Lord Bexley in company. Robert joined us there. He talks of going immediately to the sea-side, but on the French coast. May our travellers be preserved in their different excursions!

In the letter of 19th September he again mentions that he was feeling poorly.

"I write this lest you should hear otherwise that I had been rather unwell. I have to-day been a good

deal out of order, and have had Pennington here. I am now downstairs again and better, and free, I hope, from the cause of disorder. I am reminded by these recurring attacks that my strength is decaying, and, indeed, it is time I were relieved from the many things that still press upon me to the great hindrance of what now ought to be my only employ."

On 20th September Mrs Grant wrote to her husband, mentioning many of the matters to which he had referred.

Mrs Grant to Charles Grant.

PENNICE, 20*th September* 1823.

I am truly sorry to hear that you have been so much indisposed, and relieved that you were downstairs again, when you wrote. We cannot be too thankful for repeated recoveries from our different attacks; and we are both, I must say, imprudent, and too apt to risk our strength, which is, of course, naturally decaying. May we both be enabled to prepare for that solemn hour, which must soon come. London, I should think, must at this season be more retired than most other places, and the absence of all the family must leave you very quiet indeed; but your occupations are chiefly thinking, arranging, and writing, and not many interruptions from society. As for Pennyss, we are not bent upon taking it on, and only desire it at present to avoid going to London this month. The extreme retirement, or rather seclusion, of the place is its great charm. We would certainly much rather have a place which you could enjoy also, and therefore must be vigorous against the next summer, as far as we can be allowed to look so far forward. I trust your next letter will bring a good account of your health. What does Pennington say? It is a mercy that you have him at hand. Charles and Bob have been discussing plans for Charles's next two or three months. One plan is, his going abroad and seeing some of the principal commercial towns, improving his time in this and other ways. Robert, you know, is obliged to seek sea-bathing in his vacation.

On 7th October he noticed the arrangements which his son Charles was making for a tour.

"May he have a prosperous expedition," he wrote. "My inclination is that he should take the route most agreeable to him, but my judgment is for the one most useful."

The last letter to Mrs Grant that has been preserved, and her reply to it, throw some side-lights on the movements and occupations of the family during this time of impending sorrow; and, therefore, they are inserted almost intact.

Charles Grant to Mrs Grant.

INDIA HOUSE, 10*th October* 1823.

I have not yet got the estimate for the repairs of the house. This is at present the hindrance to our treating for some further continuance. But as to this last, if it would be equally agreeable to you to come to town in November, I see not that we need treat about a longer residence there on any account, unless it be the difficulty of disposing of our furniture. If we were free of the house in November, we should have six or seven months to look out for another. Apropos of November, I must attend Edwards's (Mrs Mackenzie's son-in-law, who was a solicitor in Inverness) trial then, and leave this place by the 11th of that month, so that the house in Russell Square will be left without protection, unless the Pennice party should come to occupy it. Charles writes me he has decided for Munich and Vienna. May he be protected every way and brought back in safety!

Mrs Grant to Charles Grant.

PENNYSS, 14*th October* 1823.

I am sorry to find the assignees still so very troublesome, as we might otherwise have been induced to take the place for another year; but, as they seem so

unwilling to treat, we shall get everything ready to move by the end of November. I hope you will approve of this arrangement, for you must be off by the eleventh. We should only come to an empty house, and could hardly have all the furniture safely moved by the eleventh. Charles will, I trust, improve himself and others by his tour. I trust he will be guided and guarded, and brought home soon again in health and safety. I am thankful to say he seemed very well when he left us, poor fellow. An elegant, literary, country life would be most suitable to his taste. How much he enjoys this poor place. Its extreme seclusion is delightful to him.

We have thus seen that Grant had for some months been in failing health, and that he had himself observed certain symptoms, apparently of heart disease, which his medical attendant had not attributed to their proper source. The end came suddenly; but the calm faith and trust in Christ, which had characterised his life, comforted and consoled him in the hour of death. He had on that evening been pursuing the ordinary quiet routine, after having spent the day in his usual work at the India House. Mrs Grant was with her daughters, Maria and Sibylla, at Pennice, where Charles and Robert had recently been. The former had just started for a tour on the Continent of Europe, and the latter had gone to Devonshire for sea-bathing. March Phillipps was in town, probably at his own house, which was not very far off. The only member of the family who was in the house at the time was a boy of his own name, a younger brother of his son-in-law, Redcastle. As usual, the servants had been summoned to family prayer, and he had quietly retired for the night, when he was compelled to send for Dr Pennington, who was just in time to minister to his temporary relief, and to be with him when his spirit gently passed away from earth. There are

two accounts of his death: one written by Miss Parry, the daughter of his old friend, and the other contained in a letter to Miss Hannah More from the Rev. Daniel Wilson, whose ministry at St John's Chapel, Bedford Row, Grant had attended, and who afterwards became Bishop of Calcutta.[1] It is difficult to harmonise these two accounts; but we are of opinion that Miss Parry's letter, having come, as it were, from the family, just as they had begun to return, is the more authentic account. We accordingly publish it in full. It was addressed to Grant's third son William.

Miss Parry to William Grant.

RUSSELL SQUARE, *2nd November* 1823.

I write with real distress of mind to inform you that your excellent father was seized the night before last with a shivering fit and pain in the chest, after having been apparently in perfect health, and having read prayers to his family with his usual voice at seven o'clock. Finding that the coldness and pain did not go off on getting into bed, he sent for Mr Pennington, who was happily at home, and at his bedside a few minutes after the summons. He immediately gave him some ether, and wrapped him in warm flannels, and advised his endeavouring to sleep. This continued about half-an-hour. When Mr Pennington asked him if he felt relieved, he said he did, and appeared to fall into a doze; but the thickening of the breath alarmed Mr Pennington, who came to the bedside, and found that his sainted spirit had taken its flight to those realms to which it had been so long aspiring. I wish that the compass of a letter had given me the power of breaking this painful intelligence to you more gently; but I am sure, let me pen the letter as I would, your fears would have anticipated the fatal end of the illness. Your

[1] *Life of Miss Hannah More*, vol. iv. p. 177.

family were all absent, except Mr Phillipps, who went immediately to Pennice to bring up your afflicted mother and Maria. Robert arrived from Devonshire this morning, and knew nothing of it till he reached his chambers. Mrs Grant is calm and weeps much, which is all one could expect at present, for hers is an incurable wound. Maria is writing to Sophia. I have therefore written to you, for Robert is too much overcome to write at all, and they feared you might hear it from report, if you were not written to immediately. The rest of your family are expected to-day. As an old friend who has a regard for you, I take the liberty of reminding you that you must endeavour to stifle the grief which the loss of such a father must awaken, and remember that the rest of your life should be devoted to comforting your dear angelic mother. I commend you to God for consolation, and pray that we may all benefit from this deep affliction, for to me it is like the loss of a parent.

Many sincerely mourned the loss of a beloved brother when Charles Grant fell asleep in Christ. It will suffice to record the expression of sorrowful regret from two of his closest and most intimate friends. The first came warm from the heart of William Wilberforce.

"I can sincerely say," Mr Wilberforce wrote, "that he was one of the very best men I ever knew. Had he enjoyed in early youth the advantages of a first-rate education, he would have been as distinguished in literature as he was in business. He lived so habitually above this world, as to be ready to be called at any moment into the next; and I cannot but believe that it was in mercy he was spared all those bodily sufferings which were likely to be very great in the dissolution of a frame so firmly compacted as his. He will be a great public loss, though we are called upon to praise the goodness of God in not taking him from us till he had been enabled to sow and cultivate the good seed in India, and to ensure, humanly speaking, a large and continually augmenting harvest."

When he first heard of his death, he exclaimed :—

"How easy a dismission, and how desirable, to one so assuredly prepared as he! Oh, he was indeed a true Christian."[1]

The second testimony which we quote was from his life-long friend—we may almost call him his brother—George Udny. Between these two there had been the closest sympathy from the time when Udny had been his assistant at Malda in 1780 down to the very last. There had been a constant correspondence kept up between them, almost all the letters having been preserved. The last from Grant was written on 31st March 1823. Parry had kindly written to Udny, and this is his reply :—

George Udny to Edward Parry.

CALCUTTA, 26*th July* 1824.

The intelligence of the death of my inestimable friend was most afflicting to me; it was also very unexpected, for he appeared, from his letters and the accounts I had received of his health, to possess such a degree of mental and bodily vigour that, notwithstanding his advanced age, I fondly hoped he would hold on for some years to come. But he is gone. My loss is irreparable. I have lost the best, the kindest friend that man ever had, from whom, during the last forty-five years, I have been receiving innumerable benefits of the most substantial kind. In being deprived of my usual confidential intercourse with him, I feel that a perfect blank has intervened in my life. But I ought rather to mourn the sad deprivation which his family and the public have experienced. The awful suddenness of his removal from this world, all his near relatives being at a distance from him at the time, enhances the sorrow attendant on such an event, even under the most soothing circumstances to his family. Death to my revered friend could not come unprepared. His gain has been immense. As you justly observe, the East

[1] *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. v. p. 206.

India Company will never again possess so invaluable a public servant. It is impossible that his attainments can be surpassed. It gave me pleasure that a monument is to be erected by that body to his memory. Here all have done what we could to show it respect by putting the Old Church into mourning —a Church rescued from secular purposes by his bounty, and rendered the scene of most extensive good to the community of this place.

The best public recognition of Grant's services at the India House and in Parliament which can be selected for insertion in this Memoir is that from the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company. During all his public career he had the good of India and the Indian people at heart, and his most fruitful labours in Leadenhall Street and at St Stephen's were performed for India and the East India Company. The following eulogium was thoroughly deserved. At a General Court held on Wednesday, 17th December 1823, the following Resolution was passed :—

"Resolved that this Court, taking into consideration the great ability, inflexible integrity, and unremitting attention displayed by the late Mr Charles Grant during a period of nearly thirty years that he was a member of their executive body, after seventeen years of distinguished service in India, and the many and important benefits which the Company have derived from his counsels and experience, and from his constant and strenuous endeavours in Parliament and elsewhere, to preserve unimpaired their rights and privileges, and to improve the condition of the vast population under their rule, desire to record their deep sense of the loss which the Company have sustained by the death of their valuable Director, who, to the last day of his life, was actively employed in the discharge of his duties, and to testify the high estimation in which they held his character and services. And that to this end a marble monument with an inscription expressive of the sentiments contained in this Resolution be erected, at the Company's expense,

to the memory of the late Charles Grant, Esq., in the Parish Church of St George's, Bloomsbury, the place of his interment, and that the Court of Directors be requested to take measures for carrying the same into effect."[1]

The narrative of Grant's life cannot cease here. The one who had for so many years been his loved companion soon followed him. They were not long divided. She had been in delicate health for the greater part of their married life; but of late years she seemed to become stronger until almost the last. She survived him about three years and a quarter, and the following most touching account, written by her third daughter, Sibylla, relates the account of her death. She was taken very ill on the night of the 1st January 1827, and was attended tenderly and assiduously by her daughters and her sons, Charles and Robert; but she gradually revived from this severe attack, and they began to entertain the hope that she might recover and be spared to them for a time. Writing on 11th January, her daughter said:—

"O Lord, how great is thy mercy in sparing her to us for a little season, for who can expect long at her age, and O! how has God been with her in this trial, enabling her to trust in Him at the worst, and to look upon death without fear. . . . I will bless thee that we were all here, and that Charles and Robert, particularly Charles, are such comforts to her. . . . My dearest Mother, so weak and wandering, yet her mind in every moment of recollection engaged in prayer. . . . Her prayers quite beautiful, the language so good, repeating texts without end. Yes, she is indeed sustained by Him on whom she has cast her burden."

"*Sunday, 28th January.*—On Monday night, 22nd January last, she departed this life at one o'clock, having been insensible all day. We were all here,

[1] This monument can be seen in the left aisle of St George's Church.

but she knew us not. Her existence for the last three weeks was only prayer. She scarcely spoke but in prayer. . . . She is gone. She is taken from us. She lies very near to me. O! how great the change, but the spirit has gone to God that gave it. She was His. How often, even in wandering, did she say, 'I am thine in Christ Jesus, washed in His blood.' He was with her in the dark valley. . . . She was spared much suffering, and her mind was kept in perfect peace, so long as she was at all herself; and, even in wandering, it was still like herself, full of prayers for pardon for herself and children, never forgetting them to the last, mourning her sinfulness, and exclaiming, 'I am thine.'

"*Tuesday, 30th January.*—This day my dear Mother is laid by my Father and dear Charemile.[1] Three within three years almost; but they rejoice together, while we mourn."

Thus the story of Charles Grant's life is rounded off. It would have been scarcely complete without the assurance of the re-union in Paradise of the two who formed the central figures in this narrative of true conjugal felicity of more than half a century. In the February preceding his death the fiftieth anniversary of their wedding day occurred.

Mrs Grant appears to have possessed a nature of marvellous sympathy and tact, which was beautified and sweetened by divine grace. Her numerous friends fully appreciated the quiet, yet dignified, manner which lent a charm to all her personal efforts to comfort, cheer, or counsel them. Wilberforce thus expressed his idea of her:—

"I have always thought of your exquisitely dear mother just as a naturalist, wishing to preserve a specimen of any class of creatures, would search out for the most perfect individual of the kind. So if there were to have been a selection of an individual specimen of the female character, of the peculiar tenderness and grace with firmness, exquisite softness, combined with

[1] Charemile died in May 1826.

a power of endurance far greater than that of our sex, I have always thought I should at once have named your mother as endowed with those qualities that constitute the excellence and loveliness of her kind, fit in short to be preserved as the specimen of her sex, the woman in the highest style of true womanhood. I might mention as a confirmation of my meaning that she was more like Milton's Eve than any other person I ever knew."

We have thus endeavoured to give a clear and sympathetic account of a very noble life. It has a unique interest of its own, apart from the history of the well-known personages with whom Grant was associated. We believe that no Anglo-Indian has ever exercised such a wide-spread influence, certainly no one during the period in which he lived, and during which the Indian Empire of Great Britain was being gradually developed. This influence was the result of the two-fold position he occupied both in the Direction of the East India Company and in the Parliament of the nation, the labours of which, during the greater part of his career in England, ran in parallel lines.

He possessed what is one of the finest instruments that can possibly be desired for advancing the good of mankind, namely, a hot temper brought under perfect control. Inheriting from his Highland ancestors a fiery disposition which, as may have been observed, sometimes burst forth in early life under severe and sudden provocation, it was in later years kept, by the grace of God, under strict and rigorous restraint. Placed at first in very straitened circumstances, which had considerably reduced his father's fortune, he began life in a very humble position; but he resolutely set himself to contend against adversity, and to raise his family and himself by honest exertion, and eventually he became the victor in the strife. He was conspicuous for diligence, perseverance, and tenacity of purpose.

He possessed the happy faculty of taking infinite pains in all that he did, and consequently his business prospered in his hands. But if one quality stood out more prominently than another in his character, it was moral courage. From the time of his conversion, when immersed in the frivolities of Calcutta society in its worst days, he was never ashamed to confess before men "Christ crucified," and to own himself a humble follower of Him who had so graciously preserved him from further growth in indifference and evil.

Grant had a most determined will, which, however, he only desired to press when he clearly perceived that it was necessary for the public good. As soon as he entered the Direction of the East India Company, he seems to have exercised a potent, and even a preponderating, influence in the counsels of the Court; and most of the despatches which then emanated from Leadenhall Street bore the impress of his masterful hand. He was a notable man in his day; and, although we have not always been able to agree with his opinions on various questions connected with the policy of the Government of India at the beginning of the nineteenth century, we have been compelled to admire the consistency with which he adhered to the views that he held to be right. In his strict integrity in public matters, from the moment when it attracted the Governor-General's attention for the purity of his administration at Malda, down to the noble reply which, not many weeks before his death, he gave to the royal request to do what his conscience forbade, we can discern throughout the upright character of a Christian gentleman and statesman; but, in addition to this, his memory will, perhaps, be more affectionately cherished by every branch of the Church of Christ as the father and founder of modern missionary effort in Great Britain's Indian Empire.

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